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The Shape of Things

THE GERMAN DRIVE INTO BELGIUM AND LUXEMbourg may be considered a counter-blow against Allied operations, or a desperate action aimed at raising the morale of a nation which for two years has heard only news of retreat. But the fact remains that the Germans have attacked and that the orders of Marshal von Rundstedt to his forces indicate anything but an inclination to surrender. This, indeed, must be a lesson to those who refuse to recognize that this war is not developing according to patterns set by military history. This is a war waged by fascist fanatics who do not care whether their country is torn to pieces or whether their people are bombed day and night, and who will go on fighting until the last rifle has been snatched from their hands. The time for betting that "everything will be over by Christmas" has ended. Christmas, 1944, instead of blessing American homes with an end of hostilities, has brought news of an unexpected setback. For many it has been a rude awakening, but the army at least saw the shape of future events. Three measures were taken last week: boys under nineteen were sent overseas as replacements for infantry and armored forces; announcement was made that additional men in the twenty-six-to-thirty-seven age group who were not engaged in essential jobs were to be inducted to replace service personnel released for work in "critical war programs"; casualty figures were listed at more than half a million. Those measures alone should be enough to dissuade the American public from following the press in its irresponsible and obstinate habit of winning the war by headlines.

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ACTION BY SELECTIVE SERVICE RECLASSIFYING in I-A all men between twenty-six and thirty-seven who are not engaged in essential war work should aid materially in overcoming the alarming shortage of man-power in the war plants. While the local selective-service boards are ill fitted for the complicated task of directing men into essential war employment, they are in a position to bring immediate pressure on such registrants as have not yet assumed their full responsibilities. Undoubtedly, this pressure will be resented by many, particularly those who gave up their war jobs in good faith under the influence of the optimistic statements issued by high military authorities. Some sections of organized labor also seem to resent the use of compulsion at this late date in the war. But the bitter fact is that the present production crisis would not have developed if the government had been wise enough to adopt adequate man-power controls during the early period of the war when public opinion was prepared for any reasonable sacrifice. A "work-or-

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fight" order is hardly a substitute for such controls, but it may see us through the present emergency. November production, though behind schedule in eight critical categories, was distinctly more encouraging than in the previous month, and with a more serious attitude toward the war apparent everywhere, there is no reason to doubt that America will fulfil the new production schedules.

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THE SENATE HAS NEVER SHOWN UP MORE BADLY than in its action defeating the St. Lawrence Seaway proposal. Judged by any legitimate criterion—national defense, social welfare, transport, or the creation of business opportunity—the St. Lawrence project is an extraordinarily good bet. It would provide cheap transportation for the vast Great Lakes industrial area; it would facilitate the export of Middle West farm crops; it would provide cheap power and electricity to New York and New England; and it would confer corresponding benefits on large sections of eastern Canada. Previously, when presented as a treaty requiring two-thirds' vote for ratification, it had been defeated by minority sectional interests, chiefly in the South, coupled with private-power groups who were opposed to cheap public power. But when the same proposal was presented last week as an amendment to the Rivers and Harbors bill, the Senate found innumerable new reasons for opposing it, few of which were in the least concerned with the merits of the plan. Although most of the Senators seem to have felt that in defeating the amendment they were somehow safeguarding their treaty-making rights, they were also demonstrating the same irresponsibility which has so often led the Senate's powers to be called in question.

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FOUR PROGRESSIVE SENATORS WERE WAGING A splendid fight as we went to press to force the new "millionaires' club" State Department appointments to be recommitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for new and extended hearings before a special subcommittee. We hope that Senators Pepper, Murray, Guffey, and La Follette will have succeeded in blocking confirmation this session, for with the exception of Archibald MacLeish, these new nominees promise a combination of "old school tie," appeasement, and imperialist policies after the war. Will Clayton's explanation before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week of why he opposes "labor clauses" in contracts for the purchase of Latin American strategic materials has since been put in a somewhat sardonic light by the news that has leaked out on our current tin negotiations with Bolivia. Clayton said he opposed clauses raising wages and bettering working conditions because they are an interference with the internal government of these countries. But in the tin negotiations the State Department is offering to raise the price of tin from 60 to 65 cents—it was 48 cents until 1942—if the Bolivian government promises not to raise taxes or other "production costs" (meaning wages?). We reserve the right to cancel the contract if the Bolivian government thus cuts into the profits of the tin kings. We hope the Senate will still save us from this kind of diplomacy.

TWO ARTICLES APPEARING ELSEWHERE IN THIS issue paint the heart-rending picture of Greece's present agony and of the dismal maneuvers behind it. We see a British army, gathered to fight tyranny, turning their weapons against a people who have particularly distinguished themselves in the battle for freedom. Meanwhile Crete and other islands remain under the Nazi boot. The formula employed to impose upon the Greeks a reactionary, if not a fascist, government, amenable to British domination, has been the time-tried one: smearing the people's movements as "red" and setting Greek against Greek to minimize the expense of control. The plan has grievously miscarried. The British have a major fight on their hands. General Scobie's rejection of the E. A. M.'s very moderate terms—amnesty for leaders in the civil strife and the creation of a real unity government under a regency—signaled the resumption of attack by Spitfires and Beaufighters. The British have shown some signs of willingness to accept a face-saving compromise in the form of a regency, even though it means momentarily abandoning King George II. The British-sanctioned arrival in Athens of General Plastiras, by no means a leftist but a determined republican, is certainly a victory for the E. A. M. Even Archbishop Damaskinos, the proposed regent, is said to be more friendly to the left than to the right. But if General Scobie insists on first disarming the E. L. A. S. he will almost certainly make more Greek blood the price of British pride.

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THE CHURCHILL SPEECH ON POLAND SEEMS TO have caused both dismay and astonishment outside British government circles. One would have thought that after Teheran the situation would have been clear; that no experienced observer could have doubted where the line between Russia and Poland was destined to run. Indeed when Mr. Mikolajczyk went to Moscow it was generally assumed that the Poles had at last recognized the facts and were prepared to negotiate on the basis of the Curzon line. This apparently was not true, and as a consequence of the intransigent attitude adopted by the government in exile, the Mikolajczyk mission failed. Poland will have to accept the agreed arrangement just the same; but the London government has lost its opportunity to play a role in the final settlement. As to Mr. Churchill's own position in regard to this problem, it is not so opportunist as many people are now charging. As long ago as October 1939, just one month after the invasion of Poland, Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, commented in a radio address on the advance of Russian troops toward the Curzon line: "We could have wished," he said, "that the Russian armies should be standing on their present line as the friends and allies of Poland, instead of as invaders. . . . These interests of Russia fall into the same channel as the interests of Britain and France. None of these three powers can afford to see Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and above all Turkey, put under the German heel."

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WHAT IS HAPPENING IN SPAIN? CERTAINLY enough smoke is rolling out of that unhappy country to suggest that some new plan is in the diplomatic pot. And the recall by Britain and the United States of their ambassadors is a hint either that Spain's fascist dictatorship may be sup-

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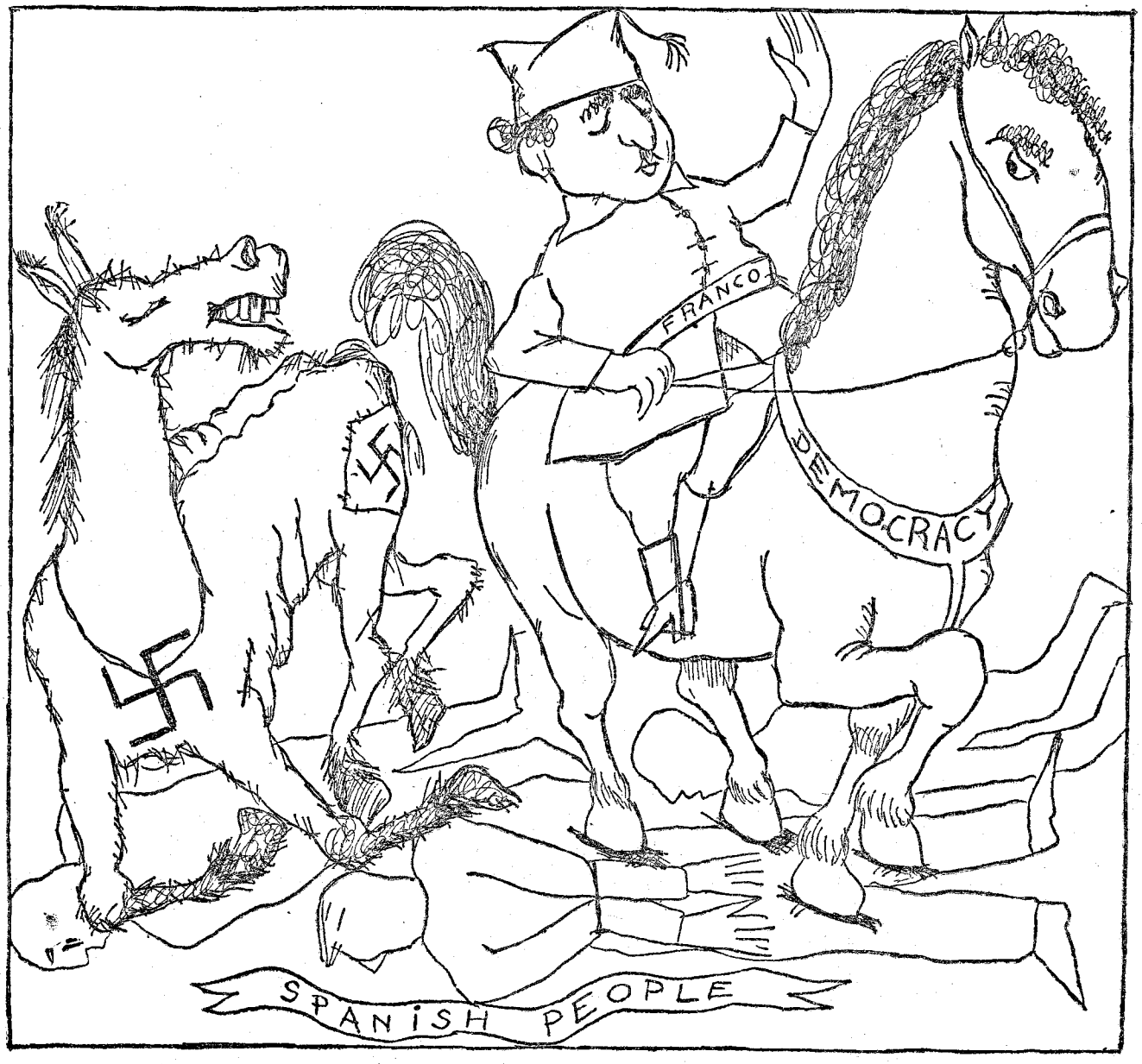
planted or adapted to post-war fashions in puppet governments, or that a new and stricter policy toward Franco is about to be inaugurated. But nothing in the recent behavior of Washington, nothing in the new set-up in the State Department suggests that any change which may be contemplated will automatically open the way to a genuine democratic revival in Spain. This will happen only if the democratic forces here and in Britain seize this moment to insist that a Don Juan or a Maura in place of a Franco will not serve the purposes for which this war is being fought. Progressives in this country have proved in recent months that when they speak firmly their words are heeded in the highest places. Today the future of Spain is in the balance. We ask all men and women who want to help end fascist tyranny and prevent a new reactionary maneuver to join us in the rally for Republican Spain on January 2 in Madison Square Garden in New York. The promise of Dr. Juan Negrín to address this meeting from London has given us great satisfaction, assuring an analysis of the problem of Spain which no other man could possibly provide.

ELECTIONS IN ARGENTINA, DESIGNED TO PUT Vice-President Juan Perón, the driving force in the military clique, into the Presidency, have been denounced by the Argentine underground press as a pure farce. Like his colleague Franco, Perón is trying to serve his Nazi masters and to appease the Allies at the same time. Perón has recently taken a number of steps clearly directed toward winning back the friendship of the United States. Among them is a decree providing for full control of Axis banks, industries, and commercial companies in Argentina, and another ministerial order slightly easing up press restrictions. But no person who is well informed about what is going on inside Argentina will be deceived by this cynical double game. Much more than in these petty maneuvers American friends of Argentine democracy will be interested in news from Uruguay that a "Junta de Patria Libre," a kind of national committee of liberation in exile, has been constituted in Montevideo. The Junta includes Rodolfo Moreno, a Conservative; Silvano Santander, of the Radical Party; Julio Gonzalez Iramain, a Socialist; and Rodolfo Chioldi, a Com-



Drawing by Luis Quintanilla.

The Horse Is Dead. Long Live the Horse!

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munist. Readers of *The Nation* will recall that at a press conference held in our office three months ago, Félix Cernuschi, a member of the Argentine underground, announced that efforts were being made for the creation of such a Junta. Now his promise seems to have become a reality. All the members of the Junta are well known in Argentine political circles. Señor Santander is one of the most forceful personalities in the Radical Party, which itself is one of the strongest in the country. The only democratic group which is not represented is El Partido Democrata Progresista, but according to late news negotiations are under way for the inclusion of Luciano F. Molinas, the most distinguished leader of that party. If the negotiations are successful, the Junta can claim to represent the entire anti-fascist front in Argentina, and its activities will undoubtedly exert a very important influence upon the political life of the country.

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WHEN ARTURO TOSCANINI REFUSED TO PLAY the Fascist hymn at a concert in Bologna in 1931 he was set upon by a gang of Fascist hoodlums and his arm was slightly injured in the melee. Last week one Mario Ghinelli was arrested in Naples and charged, among other things, with having organized the attack on Toscanini. With what seems to us excellent journalistic sense, the Associated Press asked Toscanini to comment on the arrest; and the conductor made the following brief, pointed, and, to our ears, ringing statement:

> I had already forgotten the name of the man who offended me so slightly. But I cannot forget the name of the degenerate King of Italy who has betrayed my country, who was the accomplice and the supporter of the Fascists in all their crimes against civil liberties, and who is one of the major ones responsible for this bloody war and the ruin and misery of the Italian people. I am astonished and disgusted that he and the Italian monarchy have found support and protection by the Allies.

The OWI broadcast the statement to Italy. (We hope Herbert L. Matthews and his pet Prince Humberto were listening.) But the A. P. for some reason failed to put it on the wires here, and so far as we know Toscanini's remarks have not been printed before in this country.

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THIS WEEK THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT marks its hundredth anniversary. The first little group of twenty-eight mill workers who opened a store in Rochdale, England, has given rise to a world-wide economic brotherhood which, before the war began in 1939, had 73,000,000 members in thirty-nine countries. In those countries that have escaped the blight of Nazi occupation the movement has continued to grow even during the war. Britain's cooperatives now serve 9,000,000 families, returning to them approximately $120,000,000 a year in savings which would otherwise be drained into the tills of private business; Sweden, more than half of whose 6,500,000 people belong to cooperatives, enjoys the probably unique position on the Continent of having no black market. There is no over-all total for the United States, but figures compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Farm Credit Administration, and the Cooperative League indicate approximately 17,000,000 members doing business of more than $1,226,000,000 a year. Cooperatives have fought trusts successfully, keeping down the prices of bread in Sweden and of fertilizer in the United States. In an age of increasing monopolistic restriction, they appear to be the one area where enterprise is really free. Plans are now under way for the restoration of cooperative buying, selling, and producing associations in Europe after the war. It is one of the few hopeful signs of our time.

Hard Winter Coming

THE war has now reached a precarious stage: much bitterness and hardship lie ahead, and the utmost effort must be exerted both at home and abroad in order to bring our enemies to final defeat. The massive power of the United Nations has won the preliminary victories; but now the Germans are fighting for their homeland and the Japanese are fighting for the approaches to their homeland, and the battles yet to come will be more desperate than those already won. The German counter-offensive into Belgium and Luxembourg is a sign that the enemy has much strength remaining.

It is apparent through the fog of SHAEF communiqués and press dispatches that the fighting on the western European front ranks with the bloodiest in American military history. Action on a smaller scale on other fronts may have been more costly, as at Guam, where one Marine company lost all its officers and all but fifty of its men in the first five days, but for general action involving several complete armies the recent fighting from Aachen to Colmar may well prove to have been even bloodier than the sanguinary trench warfare of 1917-18. It must be stated flatly that what the Allied armies in the West are now fighting is a war of attrition, similar in its general outlines to the last war: and in a war of attrition one accepts heavy casualties with the understanding that the enemy's casualties are heavier and that he is less able to bear them. Actually the present German counter-offensive may well serve to speed that process of attrition in their own ranks even though it cost us some ground.

Undoubtedly the Germans are less able to bear casualties than are the Americans—and here it must also be stated that it is indeed the Americans, not "the Allies," who are bearing the brunt of the casualties; we have the man-power that England, France, and the smaller United Nations of the West so sorely lack. They stood their casualties earlier in the war, and we Americans must realize that it is now our own sons, husbands, brothers, and lovers who are proving the proposition that the Germans will fall first in a war of attrition. This is a hard realization to face, and it is made all the harder by our earlier optimism concerning Germany's collapse: a collapse we thought imminent because of the rapid withdrawal of the main German armies across 200 miles of France, which misled SHAEF itself. But the Germans are now stronger in the West than they have ever been; the early-winter offensive of the Allies has clearly not lived up to expectations; the much-maligned *Volkssturm* is demonstrating its ability to hold cunningly prepared defensive positions; and we see what a determined army on the defensive can do to hold a line despite one-to-three inferiority on the

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ground and one-to-twenty-five inferiority in the air. Now we see they are capable of mounting a counter-offensive of their own.

Once the current German attack is repulsed we may expect a series of limited Allied offensives this winter, which will further lessen the ultimate German ability to resist; and it remains true that any major break-through will probably precipitate a collapse of the entire western front, because the enemy is so short on reserve man-power and material. But it now seems likely that the date of the breakthrough will be postponed till spring, when the ground dries to permit deployment of armored forces off the roads and therefore around the villages, which are now the chief obstacle to our troops. Meanwhile a tremendous task of funneling men and supplies to the front remains to be carried out. Continued pressure in Italy is also necessary, to prevent the Germans from moving troops to the west, even though that theater is hopelessly indecisive; and a winter offensive of the broadest scope by the Red Army is also necessary, not only for that purpose, but in order further to wear down German strength and to draw the noose tighter around the Reich.

The war against Japan is not comparable to that against Germany in the time sense, but an equally hard winter must be anticipated. The 40,000 Japanese reported by General MacArthur as "trapped" last week on Leyte seem to have vanished into the hills, and even the first stage of the Philippines campaign is far from being won. However, the first stage of the Philippines campaign has been ended with the extremely bold amphibious advance to Mindora. The B-29's have operated more frequently from the Marianas than was expected, but in strength of less than 100 and with bomb loads too limited by distance to inflict the damage on Japan's war economy suggested by the headlines. The news from Burma is indeed cheering, with Katha and Indaw taken; and the Chinese have driven the enemy from Kweicho to ease the threat against overland communications from India. But meanwhile the Japanese have completed their link between Manchuria and Indo-China, effectively severing Free China from coastal China and adding weight to Mr. Bolté's earlier suggestion that we will not land in China before proceeding to Japan. Evidently it is also American blood that must win the victory in the East, with Formosa and the Japanese home islands following the Philippines: this too is something Americans must prepare themselves for, and it will be far from accomplished even after the hard winter coming.

For Full Employment

ON DECEMBER 18 the War Contracts subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs presented the Senate with a bill of historic importance, one that calls for the fullest support by progressives at the next session of Congress. Senator James E. Murray of Montana, chairman of the subcommittee, and Senators Harry S. Truman of Missouri and Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia have written a full-employment bill designed to effectuate the President's promise of 60,000,000 jobs after the war. This bill has its origin in a legislative proposal made to the subcommittee last August by James E. Patton, the enlightened and courageous head of the National Farmers' Union. Mr. Patton proposed that the government guarantee a $40,000,000,000 level of capital investment every year, pledging itself to supply the amount by which prospective private investment fell short of that goal. The basis of the Patton proposal was the view that this volume of capital investment was necessary annually to the achievement of full employment.

With the help of economists and experts from the domestic branches of the government, the Murray subcommittee has worked that idea into a flexible measure that would provide a framework in which private enterprise and governmental action could be geared together for full employment. The Murray full-employment bill takes the form of an amendment to the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921. It provides that in addition to the regular annual government budget, the President shall transmit to Congress on the first day of each annual session a "national production and employment budget." This budget will estimate the number of jobs needed during the year for full employment, the volume of gross national output required to furnish those jobs, and the estimated volume of prospective investment and other expenditure of private and public sources during the year.

If the prospective volume of investment falls short of the full-employment goal, the President in the national budget is to "set forth a general program for encouraging increased non-federal and other expenditure, particularly such investment and expenditure as will promote increased employment in private enterprises." To the extent that these activities may still fall short of full employment, the President is to include in the budget that volume of federal expenditure needed to achieve the full-employment goal. "Such program," the bill says, "shall be designed to contribute to the national wealth or well-being, and may include, but need not be limited to, specific programs for assistance to business enterprises, particularly small business enterprises; for useful public works, particularly such public works as tend to promote increased investment and other expenditure by private enterprises; for useful public services, particularly such public services as tend to raise the level of health and education; for slum clearance and urban rehabilitation; for conservation and development of national resources; and for rural electrification."

The duty of preparing this national full-employment budget would rest on the Bureau of the Budget, aided by a joint Congressional committee of twelve men—six from the Senate committees on Appropriations, Finance, and Banking and Currency, six from the House committees on Appropriations, Ways and Means, and Banking and Currency—drawn from both the majority and minority parties. The bill would make a Congressional declaration of policy of the President's recent statement on a new bill of rights, "Every American able to work and willing to work has the right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops, or offices, or farms, or mines of the nation," and it would set up a continuous mechanism for fulfilling that pledge. The passage of such legislation at the next session would, as the Murray subcommittee points out in an accompanying report, end the dangerous drift of worried war workers back into

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civilian industry. It would be a pledge to our fighting men of a secure and prosperous America on their return. And it would provide the framework for an economy at once sufficiently planned to maintain full employment and sufficiently flexible to give ample scope to the genuine forces of free enterprise in the American economy. *The Nation* applauds Senators Murray, Truman, and Revercomb for a great constructive proposal, and recommends the fullest possible study of and support for this legislation by labor unions, farm organizations, and progressive middle-class groups.

Only the Fig Leaf

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 15

THE caucus room of the Senate in the Senate Office Building, a large room with marble walls and Corinthian pillars, was jammed as the hearing opened on the new State Department nominees before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. At the head of the semicircular committee table sat the chairman, Tom Connally of Texas, who has grown happily plump and begun to look almost cherubic. He wears heavy horn-rimmed spectacles, over which he peers as they slip down his nose, very much *à la* Churchill. Facing the full committee table and the crowded press tables but with their backs to the audience sat Secretary of State Stettinius and the new department nominees. Stettinius, youthful, gray-haired, looked happy; Nelson Rockefeller, the youngest of them all, had the shadow of a pout, as though he expected the worst and resented it in advance. Stettinius and Rockefeller have nice boyish faces —"regular guys," not too bright but likable.

James Clement Dunn and Brigadier General Julius C. Holmes are two of a kind in appearance as in background. Dunn has the proud and supercilious look of a Spanish hidalgo; Holmes, the manner of an upper-class British schoolboy. "I have the Secretary's permission to leave," he said to Connally as the committee finished questioning him, "May I have yours, sir?" Dunn and Holmes have the faces of snobs, firmly shut against the world; both owe their rise to wealthy marriages, the former with one of the meat-packing Armours, the latter with a daughter of millionaire Senator Henry J. Allen of Kansas, Herbert Hoover's friend. Holmes is now chief of Civil Affairs for Eisenhower, and the impression was created that unless he was questioned quickly and permitted to catch a plane for the European theater, the course of the war would be seriously interfered with. The committee, impressed, did not keep him long.

Joseph Clark Grew, tall, handsome, bushy-browed, deaf, could easily take C. Aubrey Smith's place in the movies as a portrayer of the gruff but warm-hearted retired old British colonel. Archibald MacLeish has a narrow, lean, ascetic face, a good deal like that of another poet, Robinson Jeffers. Will Clayton, taller than any of them except Grew, is long-headed, growing bald, and looks like what he is, a business man of outstanding accomplishment and intellect, with the assurance of a man who has made his own way to the top. He stood out from the others at once as the commanding figure. Of the six wealthy appointees to the new State Department—Clayton, Stettinius, Grew, Rockefeller, Dunn, and Holmes—Clayton alone did not either inherit or marry his fortune.

Their prepared statements were all liberalism and light. "We need," Stettinius said, ". . . a liberal and forward-looking foreign policy." "The job of Under Secretary," said Grew, who filled it once before, under Coolidge, "is a very different proposition from twenty years ago. Now a new and liberal pattern is emerging." "Our national interest," said Dunn, "requires that we encourage the establishment of strong democratic governments in liberated countries . . . liberal governments . . . dedicated, as we are, to improving the standards of living of their peoples." "Democracy," Rockefeller said, "must be felt throughout this hemisphere as a dynamic force." "Having been brought up in this school of hard, keen competition and liking it," said the world cotton manipulator, Clayton, "I early formed a strong antipathy, in principle, to cartels." And when Senator Murray naively asked Holmes if he would "follow a democratic policy" in the State Department, the clipped, polite answer was, "Certainly, Sir."

But throughout the two sessions of public hearings it was at only one point that any of the men before the committee made a statement in defense of democratic and progressive ideals which rang true. This came when MacLeish, under a cruel cross-examination by the isolationist lame duck, Clark of Missouri, manfully affirmed his faith in the Spanish Loyalist cause. Dunn, too, was questioned about Loyalist Spain and declared that "lies" had been printed in the press about his pro-Franco attitude. But when Senator Murray asked what had been his attitude during the civil war, Dunn said, "The executive branch of the government took the view, in line with existing embargo legislation, that no arms should be shipped to either side." When Dunn was pressed to say what counsel he had given the department at that time as political adviser on Western European affairs, Dunn said it was "entirely in line with the decision made by the Executive." And when Murray asked Holmes about reports that he was anti-Soviet, Holmes replied, "I have never had anything to do with Russian affairs," and then added, "I have had . . . yes—a friendly attitude toward Russia."

The first impression one got from the hearings was that all of these men except Grew, Clayton, and MacLeish were at a loss when tackled outside their prepared statements. Stettinius's stock answer, delivered in his most disarming manner, was, "I'd be glad to go into that exhaustively with you sometime, Senator," while the others—and Grew, too—when asked for opinions on past policy, constantly represented themselves as merely carrying out orders of the Executive without offering opinions of their own. But the second

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impression was that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was a poor match for them, unimpressive as most of the nominees were. The committee was fumbling, inept, ill informed, fearful of inquiring too far into the sacred arcana of foreign policy. Yet among the Senators who took part in the questioning were some of the best-informed men in Congress—on domestic topics. Their performance indicated how successful Hull had been in his widely advertised private talks with Senators in keeping them from any real knowledge of what was going on in the State Department.

Tom Connally not only displayed his usual arrogance but got away with it, handling the other members of the committee as if they were naughty schoolboys whenever they began to venture into real questions. At one point Connally was more anxious than the nominees to evade questioning. Grew had defended his opposition to an embargo on scrap iron and oil to Japan, and Senator Guffey asked him about the report that he favored maintaining Hirohito in power after the war. "That," Connally interrupted, "sounds like a legislative-session question." Guffey was about to withdraw the question when Grew said he "welcomed a chance to answer." The answer indicated that Grew was thinking very seriously of keeping the emperor in power after the war. His argument that Japan had once conquered Korea under the Shoguns and that this indicated that Japan could be militaristic without the emperor was a non-sequitur. And Grew's belief that support of the emperor might be the only way to maintain order in Japan after the war is obviously capable of extension to the Reich, with alarming results. Blundering as the cross-examination of Grew was, it did show that the nominee for Under Secretary still preserves the illusions of appeasement.

Rockefeller was on the stand but a few minutes; it is difficult to believe that a generation ago a Morgan man and a Rockefeller man could have been put in charge of foreign policy without an outburst from the progressives. It is even more interesting that a Senate which but a few years ago disclosed the sinister relations between Standard Oil and I. G. Farben should have asked Rockefeller not a single question about that old cartel relationship, which Standard will certainly renew if it gets the chance. Only Clayton got a real going over at the hands of the committee. The high point of the Clayton examination was the scarcely concealed fury with which Bankhead of Alabama questioned him. Bankhead, who speaks for the cotton planter, has also been a good friend of the cotton tenant and of the Farm Security Administration. His attitude indicated trouble for Clayton with the cotton-state Senators. Clayton's admission that his views meant a shift in the growing of cotton to the Delta and the West was the most politically explosive statement made.

It is a pity that Senator La Follette did not question Clayton about the part his company played in the organization of the Associated Farmers; that would have drawn a vivid picture of what this shift would mean in human terms. The examination disclosed that while Clayton is for free trade in cotton, he is less certain about free trade for industry; that though he says he is against cartels, he declined to make any comment on the Kilgore bill for the elimination of cartels. There were seven votes against him in committee, and trouble looms ahead for him when the nomination reaches the Senate floor. But so far only MacLeish's status seems in doubt. Only the liberal fig leaf for this "reorganized" State Department failed to get a clear vote of approval from the committee.

British Labor's Dilemma

BY PATRICIA STRAUSS

London, December 14 (by Cable)

ANSWERING a question on procedure at Monday's opening session of the Labor Party conference, Harold Laski, the chairman, said, "The emergency resolution on Spain—I beg your pardon, Greece—will be taken on Wednesday morning." It was a significant slip of the tongue. Many are coupling the names. "It's the worst thing that's happened since non-intervention," delegates told one another fiercely. They were far more concerned about Greece than any subject on the agenda and wanted to "do something" about it immediately. That being impossible, the conference turned to the next most important issue of the week—consideration of Labor's position in the election, which is expected before the next party conference. It is indeed an allied subject, for the political complexion of the next House of Commons will determine British policy toward new groups and governments emerging in Europe. Arthur Greenwood, leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, moved the Executive Committee's statement on Labor and the General Election. Although Greenwood is capable of fire on occasion, this was not the inspiring pre-election speech one might expect a leader to make to a resolute, progressive party preparing to challenge the Tories and become the next government of Great Britain. Indeed, he hardly aroused a cheer.

The Labor decision to fight at the next election as an independent party is unanimously approved. The problem is how the present coalition with the Conservative government is to be ended. One delegate urged that the coalition should not necessarily be regarded as "a marriage till peace do us part." Ridiculing an Executive Committee statement that the coalition must end with "dignity and good feeling" and without "squalid bickering," Aneurin Bevan, M.P., said amid cheers: "Does this conference imagine it is possible for this party calmly and quietly to carry on in a drawing-room atmosphere and then fight the Tories at the polls? That is a fantastic and unreal attitude to politics. If the leaders are unable to break until a special conference meets, or until a general election is called, all room for political maneuver is left in the hands of

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the Tories. Churchill will know the Labor Party is bound by conference decision and can only be released that way. This conference should say that the leaders are themselves to interpret in the light of developments in Parliament and elsewhere the point at which they are to leave the coalition." Replying for the Executive Committee, James Walker of the Iron and Steel Trades Association was understood to state that the Labor leaders would continue in the coalition until the European war is won unless something fundamental and serious should arise. The delegates immediately shouted, "Greece!" They retain an uneasy feeling that their leaders will remain in the government to the last possible moment and by identifying themselves with all the Churchill government's actions, domestic and foreign, right up to the moment of the election will discredit Labor in the eyes of the electorate.

Any form of electoral agreement among the left parties in the coming election was never a serious issue. James Walker, opposing the suggestion on behalf of the Executive Committee, described the Common Wealth Party as one "founded during the war by a rich man so he could become a leader." He said the Independent Labor Party was "dead but won't lie down" and described the Communist Party as "in fundamental disagreement with the Labor Party and having the avowed object of destroying the Labor Party."

Tuesday's debate on the international post-war settlement aroused considerable interest, but there was still the feeling of "waiting for Greece." Clement Attlee, M.P., leader of the party, moved the Executive Committee's tepid statement in a speech which one delegate described as "vegetarian." His influence on the party, never noticeable, diminishes steadily. On the question of reparations he said, "We have never believed every German to be irreclaimably vile, but we cannot and do not acquit the German and Japanese people of their share of responsibility, and we believe it right that they should make whatever restitution is possible."

The conference showed a lively sense of the responsibility this country shares for the present war. "We British cannot wear a mantle of purity and righteousness," said one delegate amid cheers. The need for international cooperation among progressive movements all over the world was strongly supported. The delegates felt that an alliance between the governments of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union was not enough and that there must be an intimate working cooperation among left organizations throughout the world, including those of occupied and enemy countries. A curious feature of the debate was that no one mentioned Hitler. He has faded out of the press, speeches, and conversation. One misses him.

Amendments were accepted calling for an international Socialist conference and for the formulation of an educational program for Germany. Hugh Dalton, M.P., president of the Board of Trade, promised, on behalf of the Executive Committee, close, careful study of the possibility of the formation of a United States of Europe and suggested that the Labor delegation about to go to Moscow might discuss the matter there. Except for a few enthusiasts, the conference did not take this project seriously.

A resolution moved by G. R. Strauss, M.P., that "peace cannot be safeguarded by the drawing of strategic frontiers" and strongly opposing "schemes for the dismemberment and division of Germany, the mass transfer of populations, and for the pastoralization of that country" was defeated, not on Vansittart grounds but largely on Dalton's reminder to the conference that the U. S. S. R. has taken account of strategic considerations in its agreement with Finland. In his peroration he said, "Stalin has made it clear that he looks forward to frontier readjustments. Are we sure that is wrong?" Many delegates shouted, "Yes." Nevertheless the resolution was defeated mainly on the ground that it would not accord with Soviet policy. Many delegates commented on the strange turn events have taken when Dalton, regarded in the movement as a reactionary, can use Stalin in opposing Socialist principles.

The result of the ballot on the Executive Committee, always eagerly awaited, was regarded as revealing the temper of the political side of the movement. As was expected, Herbert Morrison, Minister of Home Security, was elected. Less expected was the choice of Aneurin Bevan, known as an impatient, uncompromising Socialist and Churchill's most irrepressible critic in the House of Commons. His election indicates a desire for more forthright leadership, but one man cannot change the character of the Executive Committee.

The conference really came to life on Wednesday morning when it considered the emergency resolution on Greece. I have been present at most Labor conferences in the last fifteen years; the only other time I remember such excitement was in 1936 in the debate on non-intervention in Spain. Several times Laski had to call the conference to order. "Will the delegates," he said severely, "try to control their excessive emotions?"

The Labor Party and most of the British people are outraged by the spectacle of a British government using an army which was conscripted to fight fascism against a popular movement and in behalf of an unpopular government. But the Labor movement is in a dilemma. Its own leaders are members of the government, jointly responsible for all its actions. As Ernest Bevin, M.P., Minister of Labor, said so frankly, "The steps taken are not the decisions of Winston Churchill. They are the decisions of the whole Cabinet. . . . I took part with my colleagues in these discussions. . . . I am a party to the decisions that have been taken. Looking back, I cannot feel that any one of the decisions was wrong."

Therefore, if the conference were to pass a resolution condemning the Churchill government's policy on this or any other major issue, it would be condemning its own leaders. The Labor members of the government would then have to resign and thereby break the coalition, which they are loath to do until the war in Europe is officially declared won.

Against this background everyone knew the Greek resolution was a compromise arrived at after days of heated discussion between certain trade unions which wanted a strong, unequivocal statement of condemnation and the Labor members of the government, who were anxious to avoid acute political embarrassment. Like most compromises, this one satisfied no one. "Armistice without delay" followed by a "free and fair general election as soon as practicable" is plainly desirable. Yet the tenor of the resolution was spineless and failed to reflect public indignation over the whole Greek tragedy. The delegates were put in the impossible

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position of being able to vote only for or against the resolution and debarred from moving amendments. So although delegate after delegate, with loud vocal support from all over the hall, denounced its weak terms, it was carried by a vote of 2,455,000 to 137,000. There is no particular significance in these figures. It is vital for the world to understand that the 137,000 votes against were not cast because those delegates approve British policy in Greece. Both the majority and minority feel equal shame and repugnance and want the affair settled honorably forthwith. But only a small minority movement at the moment is prepared to break the coalition on this issue.

All through the conference, all through the business of the House of Commons, runs the same problem. Labor lent its leaders to a Tory government in a time of dire crisis. They played a great part in assuring the defeat of the fascist armies. Having now announced their intention of fighting as an independent party in the next election, how long can they remain in the Churchill government without becoming hopelessly compromised and discrediting their party? This is a problem of more than domestic importance. The foreign policy of this country depends on which party has a majority in the House of Commons in the post-war years. The Labor movement is Britain's only alternative to indefinite Tory rule.

Greek Politics and Puppets

BY MICHAEL CLARK

IN GREECE, at this moment, the invasion, which was to have brought liberation, is bringing a white terror instead. What liberation there was, the Greek resistance movement itself had won, at heavy cost, first by clearing the Germans out of three-quarters of their land, then by forming so effective an advance guard that the British army suffered only three fatal casualties in "operations against the enemy" in Greece. When the bulk of the British forces landed unopposed from troop ships in Piraeus, the job was already done. Today, barely two months later, these same forces, under a command in which American officers participate, are using American-made weapons against the very Greeks who have distinguished themselves so valiantly in the cause of freedom since the Albanian campaign.

The British policy toward Greece, ever since the royal government was brought into exile by Britain, has been so thoroughly out of harmony with the will of the Greek people that only radical modification could have averted conflict. Modification did not come. I recall in this connection a conversation I had more than eight months ago in Cairo with an American official who had been following the Greek situation closely. Quite unexpectedly he said, "At this rate the British will soon find themselves fighting the Greeks." But at that time it hardly seemed possible that the British could blunder so terribly.

While the Germans in Athens were setting up a puppet Greek government under the premiership of Rallis, the British were tightening their grip on the Tsouderos government, which they had rescued. The one was no more representative of Greek opinion than the other, although the British were careful to preserve what little prestige the trappings of legality and royalty could give their creature Tsouderos in Cairo. Meanwhile, in Greece itself, patriots of all political persuasions joined forces in a resistance movement called the E. A. M. (National Liberation Front). The leadership at first was Communist, chiefly because during their suppression under Metaxas the Communists had acquired a lot of experience in underground techniques, but others cooperated whole-heartedly and rose to leadership as they gained experience. The E. A. M. was, and is, the most powerful Greek resistance organization. The Communist group (K. K. E.) forms only one component, representing from 15 per cent to 20 per cent of the whole. The E. A. M.'s actual strength is hard to estimate. Its army, the E. L. A. S., has been able to put 25,000 armed men into Athens without stripping other regions under its control. The E. P. O. N., the E. A. M.'s youth organization, has an estimated membership of 500,000. The right-wing E. D. E. S., on the other hand, probably never had more than 7,000 members, with an armed force of some 3,000 at the most.

At the beginning the E. A. M. proclaimed that the Germans were the enemy, but their fight became more and more ideological with the realization that compatriots and allies could be as fascist as the Germans. Thus the Greek resistance movement created, in the midst of its suffering, a real solidarity of the left. This became clear to the world a few days ago when the leftist members of Papandreou's Cabinet, of whom only two were Communists, resigned as a bloc. It is worth noting, too, that the rightist groups in Greece, such as the E. D. E. S. and the Security Battalions, have all been heavily tarred with the brush of collaboration. The Security Battalions, in particular, were organized by Rallis to fight the resistance movement. They were German-sponsored and German-equipped. The resistance movement constantly begged the Cairo government to denounce the Security Battalions, and it is a curious commentary on the British-supported Greek government that it steadfastly refused to do this. It was known in Cairo last summer that a British liaison officer inside Greece had actually been in touch with the Security Battalions.

Yugoslavia had shown how dangerous a people's resistance movement, tempered in the fire of combat, could be to a docile government in exile. Having lost one Balkan round to Russia, the British were determined not to lose two. The miseries of occupation and the leaven of the E. A. M. had, by the beginning of the year, made the exile government in Cairo seem to the Greek people very remote and thin. Thoughtful men were convinced that only a coalition Cabinet, including representatives of the resistance movement inside Greece, could give a measure of meaning to the

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Tsouderos government. Here it must be said categorically that all attempts in this direction were frustrated by the British, who remained convinced that their protégés might still be made acceptable to the Greeks, particularly if the resistance movement could be discredited as bandits and Communists.

In the mountains of free Greece, however—for by March, 1944, the bulk of the country was already liberated—a group of leaders formed a Political Committee of National Liberation (P. E. E. A.) for the purpose of achieving a unity government. Until such a time as its chief goal could be reached, the P. E. E. A., which was primarily but not exclusively E. A. M.—it even included such pillars of respectability as General Manolis Mantakas, the hero of Crete, and Alexander Svolos, professor of law and former minister—administered free Greece, held elections, installed law courts, levied taxes, and maintained order.

Evidence of dissatisfaction with the government in exile was not confined to Greece. In Cairo a delegation including high-ranking officers petitioned the government for an enlargement of the Cabinet—and were arrested for their pains. Many other Greeks in Egypt, civilians as well as officers, were subsequently arrested for suspected E. A. M. sympathies, and some were exiled. Of their number was General Karapanayotis, former Minister of War, exiled to Eritrea.

Unrest and distrust of British motives mounted fast in liberal Greek circles everywhere. The Greek armed forces in Egypt, sensing that they were being groomed to escort an imposed government back to Greece, mutinied in April. British censorship, evaded only by a Tass dispatch—which provoked official British censure—shrouded the mutinies and the manner of their suppression. The subsequent trials of the mutineers, held at Qassassin, a desert camp too far from Cairo to be accessible to correspondents, were utilized by the Greek government to discredit the E. A. M., charged with fomenting the disorders. Some 12,000 "mutineers" were disarmed and put in concentration camps. From the remainder of the Greek forces the British chose men of proved royalist sympathies to form the Greek Mountain Brigade, trained in the Lebanon to become the mailed fist of the royal government. This Mountain Brigade was, in fact, sent to fight in Italy, where it found time to shoot up pro-E. A. M. Greek Cypriot soldiers in the British army because they refused to sing Metaxas songs. It was then sent into Greece, where it is now fighting against the E. A. M. The ranks of the Mountain Brigade have been swelled by former members of the Security Battalions arrested as collaborators by the E. A. M. but later surreptitiously released by the British.

The Tsouderos Cabinet fell as a result of the mutinies and was replaced by one headed by Sophocles Venizelos, son of the great Eleutherios Venizelos, whose only act of note was to invite the resistance movement to send delegates from Greece to help form a unity government. After a few days' incumbency Venizelos was told by Rex Leeper, British ambassador to Greece, that he was incompetent. He was replaced by George Papandreou. Papandreou, known as a successful criminal lawyer, liked by a few but respected by none, was brought out of Greece as the "resistance" Premier just three days after Venizelos had issued his invitation. Installed as Prime Minister by the British without consultation with any Greek groups, Papandreou appeared as a *fait accompli* to the resistance delegates when they arrived in the Lebanon shortly afterward. He has stuck ever since, even though he has been a major obstacle to unity.

As early as last spring it was clear to well-informed persons in Cairo that Greece was ripe for invasion and had been for some months. That it was delayed until October can only be ascribed to reasons of political expediency. British official circles apparently felt that the E. A. M. was simply a left-wing minority which, if denied supplies, would fall under the blows being dealt it by the Germans, by the British-supported E. D. E. S., and by the Security Battalions.

In May the resistance delegates from Greece met with the Greek government in a general political conference, held in the hills of the Lebanon. Cairo, because the arrests of E. A. M. sympathizers had been carried out there, was felt to be an inappropriate place to which to invite E. A. M. representatives. The Lebanon conference, although a purely Greek affair, was dominated by Rex Leeper, who happened to be "vacationing" nearby. Out of the conference came a general agreement known as the Lebanon Charter, providing, first, that a certain number of ministries in the unity government would be reserved for E. A. M. nominees and, second, that the E. L. A. S. and the Greek forces in the Middle East would be welded into a single national army under the command of General Othonaios. Other provisions dealt with the "mutinies," the position of the King, the denunciation of the Security Battalions, the position of the government with regard to "terrorism," and a number of matters of lesser importance. It was the understanding of the leftist delegates that Papandreou would at once give place to another Premier in whose selection they would have a voice. Papandreou, was, however, promptly called upon by the King to form the new ministry.

At once obstacles were set in the way of the leftists. Great pressure was brought to bear upon them to follow along with docility, and when they balked, they were accused of betraying the Lebanon Charter. The present writer, who was in Cairo at the time, filed an article to *The Nation* on that conflict, but it was stopped by an American army censor in French Morocco. When, at the beginning of September, the leftist ministers—who alone represented any constituency, the others being Papandreou's nominees—did finally enter the government, the Cabinet was swollen to such a size that their influence was much reduced. Nevertheless, all the leftist ministers, of whom two were Communists, repeatedly asserted their support of the government and shared its labors and responsibilities.

In recent days the British have justified their repressive measures on the ground that the E. A. M. was preparing a Communist coup d'état that would endanger life, property, and the good order upon which military security depends. This charge does its authors no honor. Not only has the E. A. M. been successfully administering free Greece for over a year, but its patient efforts to achieve real unity within the Cairo government were not abandoned even in the face of evident bad faith on the part of Papandreou and his associates. Athens itself had been freed of Germans some days before the British "liberators" arrived. The E. A. M.

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might easily have taken control of the Greek capital, as it subsequently did in Salonika, if its intentions were such as the British charge. On October 18 Papandreou and his government arrived in Athens with Mr. Leeper. Immediately the problem of what to do with the E. L. A. S. overshadowed the colossal problems of food, currency, reconstruction, employment, and the general restoration of normalcy. No time was lost in bringing the Mountain Brigade over from Italy and in strengthening it with former Security Battalion men. When preparations seemed adequate, Papandreou issued the order that all resistance groups surrender their arms and disband by December 10. An American newspaperman reports that this order was formulated at General Scobie's direction and that the Cabinet was not consulted. The E. L. A. S. protested that it could not obey unless rightist bands, notably the Mountain Brigade, did likewise. The government replied that the Mountain Brigade was part of the regular army and hence could not be disbanded in time of war. General Othonaios, who had been agreed upon in the Lebanon as the commander-in-chief of a unified Greek army, was quietly forced to resign. Meanwhile Napoleon Zervas, leader of the much-compromised E. D. E. S., ostentatiously declared his readiness to disband, and his attitude was widely played up in press dispatches as a noble contrast to E. L. A. S. stubbornness. Said the monkey to the elephant . . . !

The refusal of the E. L. A. S. leader, Sarafis, to lay down his arms as General Scobie ordered provoked the charge of insubordination, for Sarafis, like Zervas, had signed the Caserta agreement on September 26 promising to serve under the orders of the Allied high command. But in the opinion of Sarafis and his followers that agreement applied to the war against the Germans only. Sarafis, in fact, told General Scobie that the engagements which the E. L. A. S. had freely entered into when faced with the task of driving out the Germans must not be construed as giving the British command full powers to regulate the country's internal political organization after the departure of the enemy. Sarafis made it clear, as the E. L. A. S. fighters in Athens are doing at this very moment, that the E. A. M. and the Greek people will not swallow easily a right-wing dictatorship imposed upon Greece by the British army. This misuse of military power is particularly reprehensible at a time when, instead of using their forces to suppress an allied people, the British might far better send them to relieve Crete.

On Sunday, December 3, came the melancholy episode of the shooting in Constitution Square. Permission for the demonstration had first been given, then revoked. Demonstrations had been almost a daily occurrence in Athens, and in view of the confusion of authority it could hardly be regarded as a crime that the later order was ignored—certainly not a crime justifying promiscuous shooting into an unarmed crowd.. Greek policemen pulled the triggers, but American tanks driven by Tommies were deployed about the square and paraded through the streets to "maintain order." And now a major battle is raging in Athens. British Spitfires are strafing the Greeks on the streets. Constantine Poulos reports from Athens that the most common comment heard from the Greeks is, "The Nazis never used planes."

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE COUNTRY SWARMS with half-crazed husbands and lovers, who read the law reports, and who see that nobody is ever punished for any outrage if he can only show that his feelings about some woman led him to commit it, and they are naturally enough kept by these examples in a state of constant tigerish preparation for crime.—*December 2, 1869.*

THE PRESIDENT recommends a "gradual return" to specie payments, which is, indeed, the only kind of return possible; most of the declamation against a "sudden" return being like warnings against a too rapid growth in virtue.—*December 9, 1869.*

THE REST OF THE MESSAGE is comparatively unimportant; and to prove that they have no desire to shirk their due we are sorry to say nothing with regard to the condition of the Civil Service, which has formed the great scandal of General Grant's administration, and illustrations of which are cropping out every day. The President alleges what is quite true, that the territory of the United States is capable of maintaining a population of 500,000,000. He might have added that at the present rate of increase it will contain more than that number within a century from this time. We shall then have 500,000 office-holders, and at each change of administration, at a very moderate computation, five million candidates for office, and about one million "men inside politics" pushing their claims; so that the new President of that period will be pursued, during the months of March, April, and May of his inauguration, by seven millions and a half of males and females, of whom certainly half will make their way to the seat of government, the remainder only writing letters. Supposing him to live and preserve his faculties into the summer, the "rotating" will then begin. —*December 9, 1869.*

THE AUSTRIAN IMBROGLIO seems to be making but little progress towards settlement, at least so far as regards the Czech difficulty. . . . The Bohemians . . . stand up for a revival, with the necessary modifications required by the federal union, of the historic kingdom of Bohemia, with of course a Czech government, against which 2,000,000 Germans resident in Bohemia, and possessing a large portion of its wealth and enterprise, protest violently.—*December 16, 1869.*

THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY are engaged in a controversy with the government which raises some interesting questions. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue says, as they are one family, they are only entitled to one deduction of $1,000 on their income tax; they say that they are an unincorporated cooperative association, in which each adult member is entitled to any legal rights he might have if he did not belong to it, and therefore each one is entitled to the $1,000 deduction; and to prove that they have no desire to shirk their due proportion of the public liabilities, they show by their tax receipts that, had the rest of the nation contributed as much to the Treasury as they have, the national debt would by this time be wiped out, and a surplus of two billions of dollars left.—*December 30, 1869.*

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Are Monopolies Inevitable?

BY STUART CHASE

NOBODY has ever estimated, or can estimate, the percentage of the total economic activity of the nation which has been lifted out of the free market. We know that the percentage had been growing steadily up to the war. We have seen how the war has increased the share of the big chaps against the little chaps—which furnishes a strong presumption of growing monopoly.

We know that free competition has been declining in many parts of the world even more rapidly than in America. Throughout the vast domain of Russia it has altogether gone, except for some "socialist competition" between the state trusts. Throughout much of Europe free competition has been practically obliterated by the Nazis, while the returning governments in exile seem to be pledged to planned economies.

No other countries have anti-trust laws such as our Sherman and Clayton acts. Many foreign governments not only encourage international cartels but participate in them. Powerful cartels are now said to be hibernating in Switzerland, getting ready for action the instant the war ends.

Democracy Under Pressure

This state of affairs is extraordinary not only in the light of the current crusade for "free enterprise" in America; it is even more extraordinary in the light it throws on human beings and their institutions. Many of us seem to take to monopoly like a sailor to beer. Many of us, like the officers of the Diamond Match Company, look on competitors as a danger to our business, and denounce the repeating match, or whatever the new process is, as providing the "rottenest kind of competition."

Assuming it to be technically legal, without secret rebates and the like, when is competition "sound" and when is it "rotten"? Is there anything in the philosophy of laissez faire to allow for such a distinction? There is not. The distinction occurs first in the mind and then in the behavior of most business men. We are getting down to bedrock here. Is there something in human nature, or in the structure of human society, which makes monopolies under certain circumstances inevitable? The whole post-war world is waiting for an answer to that question. The future of business enterprise is tied up with it.

Legal Monopolies

To clear the ground, the question has already been answered in the affirmative so far as legal monopolies are concerned. Certain industries have been declared monopolies, affected with a public interest, and are operated or regulated by the state. For instance, government runs the post office and regulates the telephone company. You would go crazy with half a dozen competing telephone companies running a line into your house. The cost per call meanwhile would be many times what it is under monopoly conditions. Water, gas, street railways, electric power, radio air waves are legal as well as technological monopolies.

Only a fanatic like Herbert Spencer or Isabel Paterson would atomize these technological unities. Their prices are often fixed—as the Interstate Commerce Commission fixes railroad rates; their new investments are controlled, their conditions of service specified. Thus a considerable and growing section in the economy is already posted "Monopoly—Keep Out. This Means You." This section has been taken off the free market by the march of technology and by common consent, and handed over to the community to be controlled in the interest of all the people.

The Tendency of Enterprisers

But how about matches, cheese, automobiles, tractors, milk bottles, plumbing fixtures? In America, such goods are supposed to be sold in the free market. The cheese business goes through all the motions of a free market. Why have these industries and many others ceased to be genuinely competitive? Why is there a constant cumulative drive to take them out of the free market?*

Beardsley Ruml, Barbara Wooton, J. M. Clark, and T. O. Yntema are only a few of the economists who have called attention to this apparently irresistible tendency. Miss Wooton suggests in her "Lament for Economics" (Allen and Unwin) that if a business man is intelligent enough to grasp the logical beauties of free competition, he is intelligent enough to grasp the superior advantages of monopoly. "Experience has shown," says Miss Wooton, "how persistent is the threat of monopoly to competition, and how difficult it is to keep alive a competitive regime by any kind of artificial respiration."

Are Monopolies Inevitable?

This is all very perplexing, for the small competitive business man, full of initiative and self-reliance, is very deeply rooted as a symbol of the American system. True, it becomes increasingly difficult to find such men in the flesh, but even as their numbers shrink, the aura about the symbol grows. They have been called the "yeast of the economy." The current celebration of free enterprise is directed toward the sturdy competitor as the savior of society. Yet while we celebrate, the big boys grow bigger on war orders and the government reaches out farther.

To suppose that competition and monopoly are natural opposites is absurd, says C. E. Ayres ("Theory of Economic Progress," University of North Carolina Press). It is the ambition of every competitive business man to put his rivals out of business and absorb their trade. Ten days' apprenticeship in a competitive enterprise, he says, should convince any inquiring student of the true nature of competition.

The NRA, most of us agree, was a very wicked piece of legislation. It sought to make American industry a series of cartels under government supervision. It left no place for the venture-capital man at all. We thanked God when the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional; but was it

* It is true that a reverse drive is also at work, where monopolies are broken into and dissolved by strong competitors, but it is the weaker of the two.

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or was it not closer to the trend curve of the real, wicked, workaday world than the current ideological crusade?

It is, I repeat, a strange parodox, this proliferation of monopoly in the teeth of what all the good books, the good professors, the good corporation presidents, and the good Congressmen have been saying for a century and more. It is like the war against sin. The preachers thunder every Sunday, but the congregation loses so much ground during the other six days that the preachers never can catch up.

In our perplexity let us turn to the economic historian Karl Polanyi. He has a theory which tries to explain the enigma ("The Great Transformation," Farrar and Rinehart). After a superbly documented analysis he concludes that the formation of monopolies was due not so much to human waywardness as to a revolt of society against the stony rigors of the automatic market. Let us examine briefly his thesis, for it may help us to find an answer to the paradox.

The Great Transformation

Polanyi describes how the market economy started with bright utopian promises, and how by subordinating everything to a maximum output of goods its leaders hoped to solve mankind's economic problems. He traces the steady deterioration of that ideal until the final collapse of the world free market in the early 1930's and the adoption of managed economies by every state on earth.

Why did such a logical conception come to such a sad end? Polanyi is the first, so far as I am concerned, ever to answer this question satisfactorily. *The chief trouble with the market, he says, was not that it exploited people—which of course it did from time to time—but that it dissolved society.* It broke up the family and made people spiritually homeless. It wrenched them out of their farms, their crafts, their ancient ties, and herded them, rootless, into the dark, satanic mills. It offered a mechanical institution depending on money prices to supersede the organic human institutions which mankind had always known. For thousands of years markets had been dependent on society, defined in this sense. Men came first and money second. The nineteenth century reversed the process, and the resulting tensions finally exploded in the disorders, wars, revolutions of our time. The more one thinks over this hypothesis, the more impressive it becomes.

The era of mercantilism, which preceded the market, was one of expanding trade routes, but they were controlled by the state, often elaborately controlled. At the time of the Industrial Revolution the middle classes revolted against these controls. Their revolt was so determined that it swung the pendulum all the way over to the ideal of no control at all. Instead of a series of little regulated markets set against the background of organic society, there was to be one big market, self-regulating and automatic, to which all social behavior should be subservient.

In order to have a truly self-regulating and flexible system, Polanyi points out, everything must obviously be included, because everything must be treated as a commodity with a price. Otherwise the mechanism will not work automatically. Labor must become a commodity; so must land; so must money. As a result, industrial workers, with nothing but the market to depend upon, were stripped of human dignity, to be disposed of like so much pig iron. Their less negotiable qualities tended to disappear. Similarly the buying and selling of natural resources, removed from the ancient protection of society, amounted to summoning the demons of flood, fire, erosion, dust storm, stream pollution.

Money was made a commodity by tying it to gold. Gold was bought and sold like anything else, at so much an ounce. Its behavior was naturally uncertain, with alternate gluts and shortages. This caused recurring shocks to the money supply, and threatened the stability of industry. Business men, according to Polanyi, were the first victims of the money-commodity theory. "The market required that the individual respect economic law even if it happened to destroy him."

Society Versus the Market

Almost immediately society moved to protect itself against this logical Moloch. The first reaction was the factory legislation of the 1830's in Britain. In due course came legislation for public health, public schools, food and drug laws, municipal trading, subsidies, embargoes, tariffs, and other "government interference." *The most drastic interference, however, did not come from the government at all, but from the trusts, monopolies, and trade associations of the business men, and from the labor unions of the workers.*

Something very deep and very powerful was obviously at work. To fit this historical development into the theory of the class struggle, into fights between radicals and reactionaries, or into standard theories of property, is impossible. The facts come running out of all the cracks. But they fit easily into a flesh-and-blood social structure spontaneously trying to protect itself against the ravages of a cold mathematical market. For example, according to market philosophy nothing must be undertaken unless it "pays." Unemployed persons can rot by the thousands if it does not pay some enterpriser to hire them. Clearly no society can long tolerate such a destructive taboo. It is worse than foot-binding or child marriage. It is a form of human sacrifice.

The monopoly movement thus appears in a strange new light, as a natural human defense. Monopolies were formed to protect business men from the violent ups and downs of the market, precisely as trade unions were developed to protect workers from the howling blizzards of the free market in labor. If monopolies are part of this social defense mechanism, clearly they cannot be liquidated blindly. If they are broken up in a flood of cease-and-desist orders, they will surely form again as soon as the government lawyers go home to get a little sleep.

I do not know whether Polanyi's thesis will finally stand the test of history, but it accounts for most of the facts, without moral judgments against individuals. If the market was destructive to that vague but powerful entity which we call society, then it followed naturally that we should have government interference, labor unions, and business monopolies —big business, big unions, big government.

What Is the Trouble with Monopoly?

On Polanyi's showing, it is not greed, or even arbitrary power, though both are often in the picture. The real trouble is a negative thing: *restriction of output,* holding down, holding back, holding up the flow of goods. A monopoly, whether of business, labor, or other producers' group, is constantly seeking that level of output which will best protect its members—usually for the short run.

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Animated by fear of loss, once their vested interests are built up, monopolists often become timid. They are afraid of new ideas and inventions—to lock 'em up is safer. They are the antithesis of the venture-capital man who was always ready to risk his last dollar to make a million.

To the extent that monopolies do keep the machines from running, they tend to reduce the investment of savings in productive enterprise and aggravate the problem of idle money. They could limit employment even if the dollar circuit were closed. A government trying to underwrite full employment on the principle of a compensatory economy might never be able to close the circuit as fast as the monopolists broke it open.

On the other hand, the flight to monopolistic methods might not be so urgent when compensatory devices were operating to begin with. If Polanyi is right, monopolies have been formed more for defense than for offense. It is a nice question how far monopolists would go in restricting production if there were no business cycle.

Assuming that certain monopolies do slow up the machines, and must be brought under the control of the community, is the community strong enough to do it? Who's in charge around here anyway, in the mid-1940's? Many liberals believe that big business has been in charge, is now in charge during the war, and will continue in charge after the war. I doubt whether the situation is quite as simple as this. The liberals are using class-struggle dialectics in a world where such mental calipers are out of date.

Rope Trick

Big business—and I am thinking now specifically of top management in the one hundred great companies which have 70 per cent of war orders—is exceedingly powerful in some respects. But as a substitute for the accredited government neither its credentials nor its prospects are too good, in my opinion. Among other reasons are these:

1. The gentlemen do not want to assume the duties and responsibilities of government. That has not been part of their training. Which one of them is ready to guarantee 60,000,000 jobs, or draw the blueprints for averting World War III?

2. Their interests are diverse. They have a united front in such ideological matters as the virtues of private enterprise, but they lack a united front in practical matters, such as who is going to get the cream of the passenger traffic after the war—airways, railways, or highways?

3. They are increasingly vulnerable in an interdependent high-energy society. In a depression most of them go down with the rest of us, no matter how high they maintain their prices or how tight their control of output.

4. Finally, they live in a kind of judicial vacuum, because in many cases the managers of our great corporations have deprived stockholders of all de facto control of their property. Thus, as Peter Drucker has emphasized in "The Future of Industrial Man" (John Day), they have cut the nexus with property which makes their position secure and legitimate. They represent no interest but themselves, a small, self-perpetuating class, the crowning triumph of night work in the offices of corporation lawyers.

The result has been a disorderly industrial scramble in which the public interest is largely neglected. The managers have had power without responsibility. The plantation owners in the South before the Civil War, the lords of the manor in medieval Europe, did better than that; they were tyrants, but they accepted responsibility for their people, and for the land.

Sooner or later a showdown must come as to whether the managers of big business and big monopoly are to run the community or the community is to run them. When it does come, we may find that big business is perhaps way up in the sky by a kind of Indian rope trick. It might fall down pretty fast.

[*This article is the second of a series of three taken from Mr. Chase's forthcoming book "Democracy Under Pressure," a report to the Twentieth Century Fund. The third will appear in two weeks.*]

Battle of the Sequins

BY KAY BOYLE

I DID not know that sequins were being worn this year. I did not know until yesterday that garments stitched with sequins were being fought over on department-store counters. I did not know that blouses seemingly entirely fashioned of sequins, hard and brilliant and metallic as humming-birds, were coveted as gold, or beauty, or fame is coveted—especially if they come with little sequined caps to match. Apparently a great many people did know this, for the battle taking place for these things was a bitter battle. It was a battle among women—as terrific as any that is taking place in the rain or the snow or the jungle among men. For if one woman succeeds in getting the only size-42 blouse in topaz sequins, there is still no assurance that she will be able to get the topaz-sequined cap to wear with it. It is quite possible that she may have to go home with the heartbreak of having got only the blouse, and not the little cap, or perhaps with the little cap in a different color.

Yesterday, in the department store, the women who had gone there to buy were surrounded by mirrors—mirrors on the counters, mirrors in the lifts, full-length mirrors in the panels of every door. So that everyone, if he paused for an instant, could see exactly and unequivocally how he looked. But the faces of these women were turned away, their eyes were fixed on something else; they were there to outwit one another, and they had no time to face themselves. In the mirrors there might have been the singular reflection of other women—women who skipped quickly back into a trench before the shellfire got them, dragging with them the body of a companion who had fought three winters with her feet bound in rags, as were the feet of the other women, and who now had been killed. Perhaps they are Russian women, perhaps English women, perhaps women of the French *maquis*. It is difficult to say whether they are beautiful or not, for their faces are masked with filth, with sweat, even with blood. Their skin is cracked, weathered; their nails are not varnished. The dead woman who had fought through three winters with them and whom they kick down into the bottom of the trench for safety has been dragged so far by her feet that her mouth and nostrils are stopped

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with dirt. But whatever has happened to her eyes, the vision is set as clear as glass in them. When this thing is finished, those of them who survive will sit down under a roof again and hold their children against them, and they will never be afraid, no matter how old they grow, to look at their own faces in the mirror.

Across the walls of the department store there were words written, written more violently and boldly—in spite of their absolute invisibility—than the legend which states that it is a legal offense to smoke in a retail store. "Caution," say these indiscernible words. "You are warned by the authorities against stopping to look at yourselves in the mirrors." Not because you will see your own shape or face reflected; not for an instant. But because the leaves of jungle trees will suddenly grow there, tough and strong as rubber, and bright green in the mirror. You will see the hair that grows on the bark of trees in that tropical place, and the blades of green on green, and then, without warning, you will come upon the man lying there on the jungle floor with the blood like an open fan, spread as thick as tar and as black, beneath his head. He is a young man in a khaki shirt, and his beard is a week old on his jaws, and by his eyes you know he is not dead. His eyes are watching the men who come and kneel, and who set down the stretcher beside him, and his eyes move in quick desperation from one face to the other, asking them not to let it happen. It is when they lift him that the black fan opens a little wider on the grass, and the look of ice moves over his face, and you know he is asking nothing of anyone any more.

"Customers are cautioned not to look," says the sign of which no one can perceive the letters, for if you stop to look you will see something you do not wish to see. You will see the shallow water of the river flickering, and out of the muck of the river's bed you will see the other boy crawling on his knees. His shirt is ripped away, and his arm is hanging from the shoulder by two delicate threads of sinew or nerve or splintered bone, and the blood is not running from it, it is spouting from it the way water will spout from an open water hydrant and pour, foaming, into the street gutter below. You are cautioned not to look, for you have come here to buy sequins, and if you look you will see that his lips are stiff and that his teeth are shaking in his head as if he were cold. But this is the tropics, and he is not cold, he is merely frightened. He is crying, with little shuddering gasps of terror shaking through his teeth. He is saying: "I am not going to die, am I? Tell me, I'm not going to die, am I? I am not going to die, am I going to die? I am not going to die, am I? . . ." and he comes crawling toward you, crawling like a beast through the mud. He has almost reached you, he has almost touched your skirt with his hand when you hear the woman's voice saying: "I've been waiting twenty minutes, and then this customer gets in ahead of me and gets the last 42 in topaz—"

"Listen," said the sales-girl, leaning forward. "You can't take them with you."

"Take what?' said the customer.

"Sequins," said the sales-girl. "You know, things that glitter."

"I didn't want to take them with me," said the woman. "I wanted them sent C. O. D."

In the Wind

A GHOST-WRITING FIRM in New York advertised in the December 9 *Saturday Review of Literature* that it does sermons. We asked about rates and got this reply by return mail: "The cost for the preparation of an original sermon which would take from fifteen to twenty minutes to deliver would be $6." Folders inclosed with the letter offered (1) a set of four ready-made sermons, $1.75; (2) "several original prayers" for private devotions, guaranteed to have a "distinct psychological appeal," $1; (3) a $25 personal horoscope, $5.

GOLDSMITH BROTHERS, "the Big Stationery Store" at 77 Nassau Street, New York, will give you $8 for any friend you recommend who works there for thirty days; if the friend does part-time work, you get $4. There is no limit to the number of friends you may place.

FROM A STATEMENT by Tom Linder, Georgia Commissioner of Agriculture, before a subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee in Washington, December 5: "In the union of these forty-eight states there is strength. The farm belt of the United States and the industrial belt of the United States are married. The two form one complete whole. When either of these contracting parties undertake to carry on intercourse with the outside world, the effect is the same as the unfaithfulness of one party to a marriage contract."

IN NAZI ANTHOLOGIES of German poetry, Heine's poems are signed "Anonymous." Olin Downes, music critic of the New York *Times*, quotes in the issue of December 10 a letter from Lieutenant E. Forbes of the Seabees, who reports that at an orchestral concert in the Royal Opera House in Rome, under the auspices of the British Army Education and Welfare Commission, the composer of "The Ride of the Valkyries" was designated on the printed program as "Anonymous."

FROM AN ACCOUNT of a speech by R. F. Clough to the Elks of Mason City, Iowa, in the Mason City *Globe Gazette* of December 4: "Mr. Clough called attention to the fact that the flag of the United States stood for all the virtues of Elkdom."

JEWS, CZECHS, GREEKS, etc., take note: "While we hate to say it," says the Washington *Times-Herald* of December 9, "war does seem to have contributed a lot to human progress by weeding out the less fit and permitting the fittest to survive." It adds that it means not individuals but races.

FESTUNG EUROPA: Inmates of the Frösley concentration camp in Denmark asked permission to hold religious services. It was refused. A Nazi official told them, "We do not pretend to be Christians."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Rule Britannia

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

Athens, December 10, by Cable (Delayed)

ONE of the first posters pasted on the walls of Athens by extreme rightists after its liberation proclaimed "Rule Britannia." Obviously, even if such sentiments hadn't been expressed by any Greeks, the British were determined to rule Greece.

It appears that Great Britain's historical reasons for hanging on to the various parts of His Majesty's empire now apply most definitely to Greece. Britain has heavy commercial interests in Greece. The largest foreign investors in Greece are British. In foreign lendings to Greek industry and public-utility companies, as well as in holdings of the public debt, British money merchants take top place. Strategically this war has convinced Britain that it must control Crete, Rhodes, and many other Greek islands, as well as Cyprus. Lastly, British prestige and diplomatic influence [rest of sentence deleted by censor].

Today British troops in American tanks are firing on the very Greeks who seven weeks earlier were fighting the Germans. This is the result of a serious blunder made by Britain's Prime Minister and the Foreign Office. They believe that only the British royal family's poor relative, King George, can keep Greece on the straight and narrow Whitehall road and not let it be seduced by its great big, attractive co-religionist in Moscow. Starting from that completely erroneous and unjustified assumption, Churchill and the British ambassador to Greece, Rex Leeper, have used every possible method, all possible tricks and tactics, to force George back on a people determined not to have him.

Last May the London *New Statesman and Nation* said that "British intervention had gone far beyond Mr. Leeper's backstairs intrigues in Cairo." Leeper was responsible for the colonial censorship policy on Greek news in Cairo. Leeper also discovered George Papandreou.

Papandreou was one of the old party leaders who saw, while living in Athens, the tremendous growth of the E. A. M., and was frightened because he realized it meant changes in Greece after the war. Papandreou thereupon prepared a detailed memorandum on how the E. A. M. menace could be met and placed it in the hands of British agents. It is reported that when Leeper saw the memo he shouted "Eureka!" and sent for Papandreou. Later, in Cairo, Papandreou told me that he was selected by "divine Providence" to lead the Greek nation through its difficult period.

The E. A. M. is a popular people's movement. Its program, which is almost identical with that of the Greek Communist Party, closely resembles De Gaulle's plan for France. It calls for regulated wages and hours, peasants' cooperatives, nationalization of the railroads, public utilities, and banks, and for extensive public works, including roads, schools, and hospitals. On the constitutional question the E. A. M. demands an immediate plebiscite. The sins of the E. A. M., which have been so colorfully enlarged upon by Greek royalist flunkeys, British officials, and the New York *Times*, are simply the sins of any underground resistance movement. Weighed against its accomplishments they are not worth discussing. For three years the E. A. M. and its guerrilla force, E. L. A. S., have carried on a remarkable fight against the Nazis, which the Greek and British officials did their utmost to keep from the outside world. While moribund Greek political leaders of the past sat safely in Athens, the E. A. M. sounded the battle cry of resistance.

By its demonstrations in Athens during the occcupation, the E. A. M. prevented the mobilization of slave labor for Germany, stopped the conscription of Greeks for the Wehrmacht, and forced an increase in the bread rations. The E. A. M. did something more. It sensed the feelings of the people and breathed new life into Greek politics.

On the basis of having traveled over most of Greece both during the occupation and after liberation, I estimate that in the Peloponnesus the E. A. M.'s strength is between 50 and 60 per cent, and in the rest of Greece, 90 per cent. Having this strength, the E. A. M. could have seized power. They had plenty of time in which to do it between the German withdrawal and the British arrival. There are two reasons why they didn't. One was their keen understanding that the Greek people have suffered so much during the past eight years that they are sick and tired and anxious for peace. The other and major reason was Teheran.

Not only the Communists but all the E. A. M. party heads believed that at Teheran Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin agreed to the one-world idea and that small nations would be under the joint protection and combined influence of the three great nations. Therefore, the E. A. M. leaders calculated, by virtue of the Greek people's contribution to the common anti-fascist cause, all three powers would jointly guarantee and insure the right of the Greek people to a new, democratic, socialist way of life. Those who tried to convince the E. A. M. leadership that it wasn't so, that power politics and spheres of influence were still very much in vogue, and that the future of Greece lay in the hands of the Greek people themselves, were accused of shortsightedness or condemned by the Communists as anti-Soviet and anti-Stalin. Thus was the real Greek revolution lost.

For from the moment that Papandreou returned to peaceful, orderly, awakened Greece every attempt was made by him, by his rightist ministers, by nationalist, royalist, and fascist organizations, and by the Leeper holding company, to destroy the power of the left. Thousands of traitors and quislings were permitted to roam freely around Athens. No collaborators were called to trial or punished by the government. Royalist organizations were secretly armed. Members of the Nazi-organized Security Battalions were spirited out of prison and armed. Wild stories of red ter-

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rorism were fed to the local and foreign press. High officials of the various ministries who had faithfully served the Nazi and quisling governments were kept in their posts. No attempt was made to purge the police and national guard, both of which had worked for the Gestapo. When the Under Secretary of War, on November 24, appointed fourteen officers to organize a new national guard, eight of them were former officers of the Security Battalions. The Mountain Brigade was withdrawn from Italy and brought to Athens. More British troops kept landing in Greece. And long after the last German had left the Greek mainland British tanks rumbled through the streets of Athens.

During this time the E. A. M. was exercising remarkable control over the Greek people. I have seen Greek mothers and fathers go hysterical as they saw the men who had collaborated with the Nazis to torture and murder their sons marching proudly down the street at the head of one rightist organization or another. But the E. A. M. kept saying, "We mustn't take the law in our own hands." The few placards demanding "Bread for the People" soon disappeared after the first few demonstrations last October, because the hungry people had confidence in the E. A. M. They believed their representatives in the government would be able to fulfil in an orderly way the promise of a better life.

In the face of all this the question of disbanding the E. A. M. armed forces came to a head. The E. A. M. agreed to disarm and disband its army, but insisted that all other organized Greek units, including the royalist Mountain Brigade, should do likewise; so that a new army could be organized from scratch. The British have refused to listen to any proposals for disbanding the Mountain Brigade. Had they assented, there would be no civil war in Greece today.

While these military discussions were going on, a revealing incident occurred. On Wednesday, November 22, General Scobie, commander of the Allied forces in Greece, summoned Alexander Svolos, E. A. M. Minister of Finance, and John Zeugos, Communist Minister of Agriculture, and in the presence of the omniscient Mr. Leeper lectured them on two points. First, he insisted that the wage-scale system set up by their colleague, Miltiades Perphyrogenis, Labor Minister, was too high and would make reconstruction efforts difficult. Second, he issued an ultimatum demanding within twenty-four hours a declaration that they were opposed to acts of violence—no such demand was made of the right. Svolos and Zeugos indignantly refused to discuss either question.

On Thursday of the following week the British posted instructions for disbanding and disarming the guerrilla forces. This was done before the Greek government had agreed on the question and before an order had been signed by the Minister. In protest, and because Papandreou appeared powerless to prevent British intervention in internal affairs, the left ministers resigned the next day. The E. A. M. immediately called for a mass demonstration in Athens and Piraeus, a general strike in the same area, and a reorganization of the central committee of its army.

Encouraged by the crisis created by the resignations of the left, which represented the break in national unity which the royalists, rightists, and fascists had been praying for all along, the police fired on the unarmed demonstrators on Sunday, December 3. That was the spark. The E. A. M. forces in Athens and Piraeus set out to clean out the police, national guard, and other armed fascists. Only British intervention prevented them from finishing the job in short order.

On Tuesday morning, December 5, Papandreou told the American correspondents that he had tendered his resignation. At the same time it was made known that Themistocles Sophoulis, an old Liberty Party leader, having received approval of the left, was forming a new Cabinet. At noon on the same day, Sophoulis was called in by Leeper and told to cease his efforts as London felt that Papandreou should remain in office. Sophoulis then threatened to pull his ministers out of the government. Realizing that such a move would leave Papandreou flat on his back with no popular support, Leeper pleaded with Sophoulis to change his mind, and when he failed he sent for Scobie, who succeeded. Had Sophoulis been permitted to form a government, the civil war would have ended after two days.

The suspicion that food would be used as a weapon against the Greek people appears to have been well founded. The original military organization which was to handle relief in Greece for the first six months after liberation was called the Allied Military Liaison. Shortly before liberation, the State Department, realizing what might happen to Greece, but either reluctant or unable to do anything about it, recommended that American administrative participation in the A. M. L. be kept at a minimum. The name of the organization was accordingly changed to the Military Liaison, in spite of the fact that most of the relief supplies come from America. On November 29 the M. L. was absorbed by Scobie's headquarters. Following this, the UNRRA's Greek mission signed an agreement with the M. L. whereby its activities were also brought under British control.

In a proclamation to the Greek people on December 1, Scobie said: "I stand firm behind the present constitutional government until the Greek state can be established with a legal armed force behind it and free elections can be held. Unless we all together succeed in this, currency will *not* remain stable and the people will *not* be fed." (The emphasis on the "nots" is Scobie's.) No wonder that all over the Peloponnesus shivering old people who hadn't eaten anything except bread and beans for four years fearfully asked me, "Is it true that the British won't bring us any food unless the King comes back?" But the most common Greek answer to Scobie today is, "We know how to starve."

The struggle has now passed from the hands of a few leaders into the hands of the Greek people. In a funeral procession for the massacred workers the old banners demanding "bread and work" were again flying defiantly. Regardless of the outcome of the present ugly situation, the Greeks, particularly the young Greeks, are determined that the future shall be in their hands.

Churchill weeps for "poor old Britain," which armed all the guerrillas of Europe, and condemns those who now want "to use arms to achieve their own ends." Churchill must know that the British stopped sending arms to the E. L. A. S. in April, 1943, when Rommel's Afrika Korps was no longer using Greece as a supply route. And at that time E. L. A. S. was only a third of its present size. I know, for I saw them, that the vast majority of the E. L. A. S. fighters have German and Italian arms which they fought and died to get.

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But maybe Churchill is confused. Maybe he meant General Napoleon Zervas's few boys—the guerrillas "loyal" to King George. These "loyal" guerrillas not only have the latest-model American Tommy guns but also received one gold pound per man per month from the British for their patriotic endeavors. And because they were good boys their pay was raised to two gold pounds on April 19, 1944, which, coincidentally, was the same month that three-fourths of the Greek armed forces outside Greece revolted.

Naturally everyone asks where America stands on this. Americans like to say they are standing on the sidelines. But the Greeks don't see it that way. The Greeks consider the United States their best friend and big brother. A big brother doesn't stand by and watch his smaller brother be mistreated and beaten up. Or if he does, then the younger brother doesn't have much use for him afterward. The Greeks say, "They're your tanks and your trucks. The food and clothing that is here and is coming in is all from the people of the United States. Why must we pay so dearly for it?"

After the Sunday massacre of the Greek workers, their wives and children and the other demonstrators, stunned and shocked, floundered about for just a moment. Then they started crying, "Roosevelt! Roosevelt!" and "America! America! America!" They fell on American officers and correspondents and kissed them. With tears streaming down their faces they cried, "Why don't you help us?" Suddenly the demonstrators marched straight up to the American Embassy to ask for help in their struggle against fascism and to refresh the President's memory about the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms.

Observant Greeks have noticed that after the strife broke out the American flag was hauled down from the American Embassy flagpole and hasn't waved again, while the French flag still flies proudly over the French Embassy across the street.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

FOR a long time the German army, or to be more exact Himmler's Waffen S. S., has contained detachments of "foreign volunteers." Of course most of them are not really volunteers. A large percentage were conscripted in the occupied countries or the camps of "foreign workers" by open or thinly veiled force. It used to be assumed that the Nazis would one day have trouble with these Dutch, Danish, Belgian, Norwegian, Serbian, Polish, Russian, and French auxiliaries. Mutiny, desertion, and sabotage on a large scale were thought to be inevitable, especially if the "foreign volunteers" were actually sent to the front and used in battle against the Allies.

Since then we have learned that, in this field as in so many others, the power of a modern organization is greater than we had ever imagined. The Hessians who fought against Washington discharged their duty as soldiers satisfactorily although they had been brutally conscripted and literally sold overseas; the machinery of a modern organization hamstrings the will and convictions of those who have once been regimented in it even more completely. They function with an automatism which one would not have thought possible. As a matter of fact, the Germans do not seem to have been especially disappointed in their "foreign volunteers," and they have recently decided to form more of such units.

A dispatch in the *Tribune de Genève* for December 4 says that Mussert, the Dutch Führer, was summoned to Berlin and immediately afterward undertook personally a vigorous recruiting campaign among his countrymen in German labor camps and also in the occupied parts of Holland. Corresponding figures of other nationalities are intensifying their efforts among the French, Belgians, and Serbians in Germany. "The conscription of Poles is being carried on with particular energy. The first brigade will be sent to the eastern front under the banner 'Poles for Poland.'" The Russian unit is the strongest of all. Its official name is Russian Army of National Liberation, but Germans refer to its members as the "eastern volunteers."

The Stockholm *Aftonbladet* of November 24 reports a great parade of "eastern volunteers" in Berlin. Their commander, one General Vlassow, "made a speech to them stressing the fact that this is a war between ideas, not between nations." On November 30 the German overseas radio broadcast an interview with General Truchlin, General Vlassow's chief of staff, in which he said, "Our first line is composed of the more than 100,000 men who have already joined up; our reserves are the millions of Russian war prisoners and workers in Germany."

The importance attached to this Russian formation by the German army command is indicated by the fact that a brand-new newspaper with the title *We and Our Comrades from the East* is being distributed to German soldiers. On November 30, a few days after the fourth number of this paper appeared, the German radio, in one of its regular broadcasts to the armed forces, took up the question of why relations with the eastern volunteers were handled in a special newspaper. Its explanation was:

> The publication is necessary because the many soldiers who come in contact with eastern volunteers must know as much as possible about Russians so as to treat them properly, understand their racial and personal traits, and establish a satisfactory basis of cooperation. Furthermore, this periodical is published not only in German but also in Russian and Ukrainian, since eastern volunteers in their turn must be taught to understand Germans. Not every army paper can be published in three languages. Our eastern comrades are by no means excluded from the discussions started by the new paper. On the contrary, a lively exchange of views and experiences is desired.

General Truchlin's statement, "Our reserves are the millions of Russian war prisoners in Germany," raises the question of how prisoners of war may be used. The Geneva convention expressly forbids their use against their own country and their enrolment in armies. Since the strict observance of the code concerning war prisoners has recently been stressed in Germany, this question has been brought up publicly. The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* of November 29 answered it as follows: "The Geneva convention applies only to nationals of countries which have signed it. Russia has never signed it and has never become a partner in its rights and obligations." According to this, no legal hindrance prevents either Germany or Russia from forming an army of war prisoners to use against the other.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Silver Clue

HENRY JAMES: THE MAJOR PHASE. By F. O. Matthiessen. Oxford University Press. $2.50.

PROFESSOR MATTHIESSEN'S intelligent study of James's later period, appearing one year after the rather neglected James centenary, presages, it is to be hoped, other criticism directed toward the Works and produced by critics who do not hate James or misprise good writing. Matthiessen mentions at one point the present interest in the international scene as having some relation to a new interest in James. It would be one more queer twist of circumstance if Americans now come to an interest in their great compatriot because of reasons quite separate from the central values in James. What James really was—a great "poet" and a profound psychologist—and what he actually accomplished, is beyond any interest of a "timely" kind, no matter how pressing and serious such an interest may seem or be.

James's reputation has been affected by the turns of fashion before this. He has been earlier than his time, later than his time, and his work has fallen into neglect between "periods." He has been thought outmoded, when his modernity was far ahead of the van; genteel, when he had become the sharpest critic of "gentility"; a dull expatriate, when his books flashed with incisive American wit; "fine-drawn," when, at the end of his life, his writing was loaded with almost an excessive weight of insight and experience. He lost one audience at the end of the 80's. He gained a younger one in 1918, only to have it fall away from him—with notable exceptions—during the experimental and eclectic decade of the 20's. The Parrington–Van Wyck Brooks sort of attack appealed to exactly the type of reader who, by nature and training, would decry James in any case: the middle-class man dead set against anything he cannot "use" or "understand." James, being a shining mark, drew to himself all the concentrated vituperation such characters are capable of producing. Every remark made by critics of the middle class, from Stendhal on, was thereby proved. Every dictum of Flaubert's—and there are many—concerning the hatred of the artist felt by the rank and file of the bourgeoisie was proved of a deadly truth by the attacks made, and the misinterpretations thought up, by middle-class critics, on the subject of James.

Matthiessen has made a choice among the works, and deals at length with the three last novels—"The Ambassadors," "The Wings of the Dove," and "The Golden Bowl"—published during James's lifetime; together with, in passing, "The American Scene" and the two posthumous and unfinished novels, "The Ivory Tower" and "The Sense of the Past." This phase Matthiessen calls "major." It might better be called the "past-master" period, for James had been "major" for twenty years or more before he entered into his last and greatest powers of thought and expression. A period of mature experimentation—with the theater, with the strict dramatic form as applied to the novel, and with various special viewpoints (notably those of the child and the neurotic)—intervened, in the 90's, between the middle and late James. The later novels have often been singled out for special praise—or blame; they have never, however, been analyzed with the thoroughness they deserve, and we must be grateful to Matthiessen for the attention he has paid to their subtleties, and the care he has taken not to split their form and content into two unnatural divisions. He is out to shed light, and to direct attention not only toward the master's "pattern" but also toward the magician's enchantment surrounding that pattern and the fine mind's relentless insight into it. This is the James, Matthiessen with tacit irony reminds the reader, who has been accused of identifying himself with his characters. This is the "snob" who was taken in by the European scene. This is the dim-witted old man drawing out a tangle of conclusions from desperately small premises. We see, instead, the deliberate, immensely skilful artist in his sixties adding to his effects; the clear-eyed man who can penetrate, to the point of clairvoyance, any human obscurity. We see James writing these last novels with a speed incommensurate with their complexity. During the three years of their composition James also produced the life of William Wetmore Story, the American sculptor, and several short pieces. The delightful Story biography, revealing James's perfect grasp of the American artist's problems during the period with which he deals, is a Jamesian triumph too little known. It is a pity that Matthiessen does not include a detailed estimate of it in his treatment of the last phase, where it belongs. Matthiesen had access to eight working notebooks, running from 1878 to 1914. Not a great deal of clarification of James's intentions is, however, drawn from this source.

One or two matters not accented by Matthiessen come to mind, together with what seems to me a real underestimation, based on imperfect analysis, of "The Golden Bowl." Matthiessen believes that James's twenty years' absence from America, during a period of crucial American social change, made him uneasy with the "multi-millionaire" Adam Verver. Do we not see, instead, in Mr. Verver, as well as in Maggie, James's recognition of a new American type? Surely some kind of maiming and distorting force, as well as increased powers of specialization acting upon basic American romanticism, aggressiveness, and naivete, reverberates through "The Golden Bowl." Mr. Verver and Maggie both are at first grotesques. They are at once far too powerful and far too infantile. Maggie must learn that love and "help" cannot be bought, or called in, and later neglected; that these things turn out to be dangers to face up to. Matthiessen states that the dynamics of the book are provided entirely by Maggie. The exact opposite is true. Maggie is reduced to impotence and fear when she tries to "go it" alone; to run everyone. It is only when Charlotte steps out on the terrace with her silent offer of help that Maggie is deflected from her crass, childish, and neurotic course. And behind Charlotte is the Prince's "humility" and delicate sense of balance and form. In this book it is the Europeans who "save" the Americans; it is the Americans

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who have become corrupted by power, and by "taste" pushed too far. Note should be made of Mrs. Assingham's extraordinary analysis, at the end of the novel's first part, of the relation between the four principal characters—an analysis securely based on the truth of modern psychology, and all done without benefit of Freud or Jung. James, in "The Golden Bowl," had come to the point where he could hear aright, in spite of "stock" pretenses, the whole hidden story of the human heart, including its minor "intermittences." The reader is led, through small truths, toward stern, prodigious human facts. He experiences, not minor interpretation, but comprehensive wisdom.

From one point of view, "The Golden Bowl," written in the same year (1905) as Debussy's "La Mer," is one of impressionism's triumphs. Both works are formal accomplishments "of magnificent scope" of that school. And the later James must be approached in the same way as one approaches music. Soon any surface oddity disappears. The center continually shifts, but the development of theme never stops for a moment and never errs. As in great music and in tragic life, the shifts are always toward the larger and unsuspected capacity, modulation, event; and toward a final major resolution.

James knew that democracy was diversity. To step into his world of Americans, Europeans, and every international combination of the two, is to find oneself in developing diversity. To read James we must follow "the silver clue . . . to the whole labyrinth of the artist's consciousness: his active sense of life." To understand James we must be the opposite of his "awful Mona Brigstock, who is *all* will, without the smallest leak of force into taste or tenderness or vision, into any sense of shades or relations or proportions . . . the thriftily constructed Mona, able at any moment to bear the whole of her dead weight at once on any given inch of resisting surface." The Mona Brigstocks, American or "international," should leave James alone. The non-Monas should go toward him without fear, if they have not already found him.

LOUISE BOGAN

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Best of Tennyson

THE TENNYSON that W. H. Auden gives us in the selection recently published (Doubleday, Doran, $3) is the Tennyson that Harold Nicolson asked for twenty years ago, a Tennyson disembarrassed of the largest and most popular part of his work. What is left is as characteristically good as the rejected part is characteristically bad, a very considerable canon of enormous skill and intense feeling. Admirers of Tennyson will agree with Mr. Auden when he says that the quality of the feeling is most often neurotic and most interesting when it is. Tennyson was an orphaned spirit; he was obsessed by the theme of desertion by a loved person and by the emotions of depression and despair that follow. And he was of the company of men—Mr. Auden mentions St. Augustine, Kierkegaard, and Baudelaire, and though he presses the Baudelaire similarity too precisely the comparisons are apt—who can raise their sense of personal isolation to a cosmic power. Certainly what makes "In Memoriam" a great poem is not, as the Victorians said, its mastery of large ideas but rather its involvement of large ideas with that bitter, childlike loneliness which we get in so many of its lyrics.

Truly admirable as it is, Tennyson's verse is not likely to be, for us, finally satisfying. Perhaps this is because we sense that it stands in some strange uncomfortable relation to its author. For whatever strict things we say about keeping our eye on the poem alone, we still want to feel, however dimly, that the poet stands strong behind his poem. And somehow with Tennyson we cannot feel this—it is as though his poems, dealing with the orphaned sense, were themselves orphaned. This may account for a tone which is not quite happy in Mr. Auden's introduction; the essay, written in admiration, is full of fine things, but it is more mocking and facetious than the occasion permits, as if Mr. Auden, in assuming the protective role of editor, feared that he might be identified with his subject. For the same reason that I should have liked more gravity in the introduction, I could wish that the volume had omitted its two satiric illustrations. Since one of them is the Beerbohm caricature, "Mr. Tennyson Reading 'In Memoriam' to His Sovereign," it gives me a good chance to say that I think Beerbohm's literary caricatures much overrated.

LIONEL TRILLING

Wanted: Equality

THE IMPORTANCE of "What the Negro Wants," a symposium edited by Rayford W. Logan (Chapel Hill, $3.50), is not due so much to the answers given to the question raised in the title as to the fact that it provides documentation on the race problem in the United States during a period of national crisis. It is obviously impossible for fourteen educated and race-conscious leaders of the Negro minority to state what the thirteen million Negroes really want in this country. The wants of Negroes, like the wants of other people, depend upon the conception which Negroes have of themselves and the degree to which their economic and social status accords with that conception. The question of what the Negro wants assumes importance at this time because the Negro's status in American life no longer satisfies the Negro's changing conception of himself. This fact is forcibly revealed in the essays forming this book. The editor of the University of North Carolina Press, who is evidently shocked by the demands put forward, thinks it necessary to take the authors to task for wanting for Negroes what the South, in his opinion, is not going to accord them, namely, *equality in the American community*. This is, in fact, what all the authors ask for despite the various standpoints from which they write. These various standpoints reflect the professional interests and political and economic affiliations of the contributors. Because of this fact the majority of the essays are on an ideological plane and fail to analyze the deeper sociological forces which are responsible for the change in the attitudes of Negroes toward their present status. The volume as a whole provides an excellent summary of the intellectual orientation of the majority of articulate and educated Negro leaders in the present crisis.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

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Ten years ago Houghton Mifflin Company adopted, for the first time among book publishers, the principle of financing literary work by means of Fellowships.

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This year, in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Fellowship plan, we are offering a special award of $1,000, exclusive of royalties, for a book of poetry. The judges are: Katharine S. (Mrs. E. B.) White, an associate editor of *The New Yorker*, Horace Gregory, poet and critic, and Ferris Greenslet of Houghton Mifflin Company, former member of the Pulitzer Prize Poetry Committee. Applications for the poetry award will be received until March 1, 1945.

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Gettysburg to Appomattox

NEITHER THE ENERGY nor the critical powers of Douglas Southall Freeman are in the least diminished in this third and last volume of his series, "Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command" (Scribner's, $5), which covers the period from Gettysburg to Appomattox. New material from recently opened sources permits the author to redress reputations and throw light on hitherto imperfectly understood phases of the last campaigns. This alone will make the volumes fruitful for those whose principal interest in them is their value as a historical record of the Civil War. Longstreet, together with Stuart and Ewell, has been traditionally blamed for the great Confederate defeat of 1863. This charge, Dr. Freeman proves, cannot be sustained. He also includes a critical review of the careers and characters of Hampton, Gordon, Pickett, Mahone, Ramseur, and others. As a narrative for the non-specialist, the book is perhaps a little prolix, though never laborious or tedious. Certain lessons stand out for the lay student of war. The whole period under examination was for the Confederates a period of declining command. The loss of Jackson was irremediable. Nor did the Southern command ever succeed in harmonizing the two contradictory theories of military organization which in this campaign, as in all such, obtained vehement support.

There were those, notably Toombs, who relied on heroic impetus, unceasing offensives, and diehard defense of every inch of soil. Their belief was that the weakness of the Southern industrial base and the scarcity of trained officers could be compensated for by sheer dash, exactly as the supporters of the militia idea in Spain believed. And as in Loyalist Spain, there were others, professionals for the most part such as Lee, who believed the war would inevitably be a long one and that solid organization and professional training were before all else essential. To some extent the first view lay behind the early demands for an immediate second front in this war, while the second reinforced the arguments of those who held out for the precedence of the North African and Italian ventures, as "training campaigns." In the fighting of May, 1864, and subsequent campaigns one sees the type of combat further depleting the higher field command. Loss of men and further reduction of the economic base by Sherman's raid were important causes of collapse, but the failure of the command to meet the demands of the field was another. Had the German army leaders of the Weimar period studied the Civil War they could not have learned this lesson more thoroughly: hold together an officer corps and you have the framework of an army. This is an enjoyable work of solid history. RALPH BATES

Bureaucracy Analyzed

IN A STIMULATING STUDY, "Bureaucracy" (Harper, $2), J. M. Juran appraises the effectiveness of federal operations and advises on means of improving them. Written in a quietly humorous, informal style, the book corrects many current misconceptions of government bureaucracy. Mr. Juran finds federal management less effective than it ought to be. But this weakness is not the result of fundamental defects in democratic government. Nor does Juran blame it on New Deal programs like unemployment insurance and the TVA. Government operations are hamstrung, he states, by antiquated legislation, impractical customs, and other ailments of expanding organization. Juran has been an industrial engineer in private industry and a high official in Lend-Lease and the FEA. He recognizes that the same management problems have characterized the bureaucracy of business and of government and argues convincingly that application of the scientific management techniques used by industry in streamlining its operations will produce similar advantages for government. Those readers who believe in the capacity of government to work for the people will find here a new direction for exploration. BROM WEBER

Geography and Politics

"COMPASS OF THE WORLD: A Symposium on Political Geography" (Macmillan, $3.50) is "intended to correct some of the basic misconceptions of political geography which threaten to confuse the minds and the plans of statesmen, soldiers, and the general public alike." The volume, which is edited by Hans W. Weigert and Vilhjalmur Stefansson, contains a valuable though haphazard collection of contributions to political geography by some of the foremost American and British geographers, and summarizes a few of the more recent geographical findings. Great emphasis is laid upon the problems of the Arctic. There is much interesting information on such subjects as Siberia's strategic importance and the oil resources of the Far North. Another informative chapter—highlighted by an excellent piece on post-war civilian aviation by the editors of *Fortune*—is devoted to the influence of air power on geography. The shifting balance of man-power is discussed intelligently. Unfortunately, the discussion is restricted to Europe and Russia. The reviewer was happy to see again Eugene Staley's now classical "Myth of the Continents," and a number of other authoritative articles by Edmund A. Walsh, Ellsworth Huntington, and James Fairgrieve. One famed piece reprinted here—Isaiah Bowman's "Geography Versus Geopolitics"—appears, however, strangely changed by the editor.

Although purporting to be a compass of the world, the book wholly neglects most of the really burning problems of modern political geography, some important countries not being mentioned at all. Whether the alleged confusion in the minds of statesmen, soldiers, and the general public will be alleviated by describing Pearl Harbor merely as a "supply base . . . relatively useless as a defense of our continent" may be open to doubt. It is also very misleading to isolate the element of distance from other military factors and to consider great circle routes as all-important because they are shortest—precisely at a time when modern logistics have enabled the American armed forces to maintain supply lines 56,000 miles long. Yet this criticism should not detract from the fact that the book is stimulating and informative.

STEFAN T. POSSONY

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VERSE CHRONICLE

Miscellany

THE mass production of poetry anthologies has been one of the minor abuses of our time. The good thing about Oscar Williams's yearly collections is that a poet can contribute to them, and a reader buy them, without feeling that he is lining the pockets of some racketeering editor. Williams's editing is far from ideally courageous and selective, but it is better than most. If his latest annual, "New Poems 1944" (Howell, Soskin, $3) includes certain items which can only be accounted for on grounds of war patriotism or poetry politics, it also contains many of the best of recent poems. It is on the whole a dependable survey of current verse.

Two poets who are missing from Williams's anthology and who are a little alike in temperament if not in quality are Babette Deutsch and Rolfe Humphries. I can see why Miss Deutsch was omitted. Though obviously the work of a kindly, civilized, and intelligent mind, the poems in her new book, "Take Them, Stranger" (Holt, $2) are to my taste too *sec* to be even mildly stimulating. But Rolfe Humphries ought to appear in any collection which is not —as "New Poems" is not—purely avant-garde. The poems in "The Summer Landscape" (Scribner's, $1.75) have a peculiar excellence: they are neat without being slick, and charming without being coy. It is true that Humphries, with his intimate and musical lyricism, is the kind of poet who was more admired in the twenties than after; but this is not his defect any more than it is his merit, and he is neither proud of his idiosyncrasy nor disgruntled by it.

As a matter of fact, it is only in superficial ways that Humphries diverges from recent poetic practice. To be sure, his metrics are fairly conservative, his attention to clarity is classical, and instead of projecting himself in terms of some impersonal mask or myth he says "I." Yet the anxiety out of which he writes is akin to that of all the wasteland generation; and in regard to language he is as much at ease in the modern colloquial style as Cummings or Auden.

> Time is of the essence. The crowd and players
> Are the same age always, but the man in the crowd
> Is older every season. Come on, play ball!

What I have so far written of Humphries sounds rather negative and defensive. That is because it is hard to define his special perfection without using words like "delicate," "exquisite," "chaste," "chiseled," "lucid," and "limpid"—words which would inevitably corrupt the impression. I will merely say that although I do not care much for those few poems in which Humphries wrestles—rather self-consciously —with his ego, I think pieces like For My Ancestors, From My Travels, and above all the metaphysical baseball poem, Polo Grounds, are as good as if they had been written by a resurrected Herrick.

To be a resurrected Whitman, Whittier, and Julia Ward Howe seems to have been the modest aim of Russell W. Davenport, ex-*Fortune* editor and Willkie organizer, in writing "My Country" (Simon and Schuster, $1.50). This

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is the poem which the publishers proudly announce wasn't written in a garret, and which the *New Yorker* says couldn't be worse if it had been written in a dinette. "My Country" is said to be selling 2,000 copies a week; and on the advice of Simon and Schuster it is being read aloud in family circles all across this broad land (as Davenport would say), from the Kennebec to the Sacramento, in office and factory and farm

in barns and buses
trailers and trains
in homesteads and bedsteads and
bandstands!

To quote the actual poem:

> America lives in her simple homes . . .
> In furniture for comfort not for looks . . .
> She lives like destiny in Mom who cooks . . .

But you know what she cooks. And in short the war has produced no worse abomination of inverted chi-chi and phony sunbonnet sentiment than "My Country." It's smart to be folksy! Let's turn to Marianne Moore.

In a very small book called "Nevertheless" (Macmillan, $1.25), Miss Moore prints seven recent lyrics, most of them having appeared in this magazine. One scrutinizes her work carefully to ascertain if it deserves its astonishing repute. It does: she is unique; and she is writing some of her best poems now. For the times, which are cruel to so many, are kind to poets like Humphries and Miss Moore, artist-stoics, whom the disasters of civilization only put more than ever on their mettle. Their aesthetic stoicism would appear irrelevant, even smug, if it were not accompanied by real performance in their art. But in Miss Moore's case, particularly, it is not only so accompanied but it springs, her wisdom, organically right out of the texture of her lines. So at the end of the title-poem she says,

What is there
like fortitude! What sap
went through that little thread
to make the cherry red!

having first earned the right to this pronouncement by virtue of the artful fortitude with which she has built up her little poem, word by word and image by image, into something indestructibly fine.

F. W. DUPEE

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MOST spectators will probably agree that "A Bell for Adano" (Cort Theater) is, so far, the most effective American play to come out of the war, and some part of its success is no doubt due to the fact that it does not attempt too much. I have not read the novel upon which the play is based, but it is obvious that the author did not plan an epic or hope to get into one evening the whole truth about either war or the men who fight it. He had, instead, a simple story to tell, and though that story has implications of the greatest importance, no attempt is made to force it to carry more weight than it can easily bear, and its simple action is not cluttered up with more or less irrelevant incidents introduced out of some mistaken notion that a good play about the war must somehow get in some reference to all its major aspects.

I confess that what I had read of John Hersey's novel did not much predispose me in its favor. The story, so I read, was concerned with the misadventures of a Civil Affairs officer who realized—as his superior did not—how much a conquered Sicilian village needed the ancient bell which the Germans had carried away. That suggested to me something a little precious and a little sentimental. But in the play at least, the bell, convenient symbol though it is, remains in its proper place, and what we get is not a merely sentimental tale but a moving and substantial story of the conflict between two men—one with a decent sense of the decencies for which we are supposed to be fighting, the other a blood-and-guts general to whom war is war—merely a question of our team against the other. This general never appears on the stage, and his influence is directly felt only twice —once when we hear him through a window bullying a peasant in the street below and once when his long arm reaches out to remove the officer whose humanity is bringing life and hope back to the village. But as the curtain falls it is still an open question whether all that decent men have been able to accomplish will not be undone by the ruthless arrogance of the general and his kind.

Paul Osborn, a practiced craftsman, has made a smooth dramatization which deserves the high praise implied in saying that no uninformed spectator would ever need to suspect that the story had been told before in another form. Fredric March, as the man of good-will, gives a performance of remarkable restraint and effectiveness; the rest of the company, performances generally very good indeed, though I did find it necessary to remind myself from time to time that real Italian peasants probably are in actual fact nearly as much like stage Italians as these seem to be. But perhaps the most significant thing about both the novel and the play is the seeming willingness of the public to take both the one and the other to its bosom.

Six years after the First World War was over New York audiences greeted "What Price Glory?" with an enthusiasm which could mean only that the ribald cynicism of that play expressed as the audience wanted someone to express its own not quite articulate reaction to the events through which it had just lived. Today, three years after we entered the present conflict, a corresponding audience would hardly be expected to be in the mood for a "What Price Glory?" but one might guess that it would find itself most strongly attracted to some expression of militant nationalism, to some tale of martial courage, or even to some representation of the crude horrors of war. Instead, it has chosen to acclaim a humane appeal that this war shall be made in actual fact a war of liberation rather than a war of conquest. If "A Bell for Adano" were a work of extraordinary power and hence capable of imposing itself, its success would mean less as a symptom. But for all its effective simplicity and sincerity it is hardly strong enough to demand more attention than the public is ready to give it, and its success must mean that it says what many want it to say. That many do want to have just these things said is a fact hopeful enough to be worth noting.

Billy Rose's "Seven Lively Arts," now housed in the elaborately refurbished Ziegfeld Theater, seems to me to provide about everything which can reasonably be desired in a spectacular revue. It is true that nothing now remains of an original intention to stress Art with a big A except two stunning virtuoso performances by Benny Goodman and a rather tame ballet in the classical style. It is also true that most of the entertainment is provided by the established stars rather than by any of the newcomers; but at least two of these established stars are at the top of their form, and Mr. Rose has provided spectacle with his usual lavish hand. Beatrice Lillie is still unique and still capable of making the gamut from *A* to *B* yield more variety than most performers can get out of what looks like a really extensive range; Bert Lahr can still make more and uglier faces than any two other comedians on our stage. The skit in which Miss Lillie appears as a high-born English lady who has learned out of a book how to talk to American soldiers in their own language is very funny indeed but no funnier than that in which she sings a waltz song and has nothing except herself to use as material. Mr. Lahr's rendition of a drinking song in the manner of "The Student Prince," is also hilarious, even though it was obviously suggested by his masterly rendition, some years back, of "The Song of the Woodman." Doc Rockwell's lecture on female anatomy will continue to be a high spot unless the police insist that the young lady who indicates the organs under discussion by means of an illuminated manikin must in the future make fewer embarrassing mistakes.

Films

JAMES AGEE

FRANKLY, I doubt I am qualified to arrive at any sensible assessment of Miss Elizabeth Taylor. Ever since I first saw the child, two or three years ago, in I forget what minor role in what movie, I have been choked with the peculiar sort of adoration I might have felt if we were both in the same grade of primary school. I feel I am obligated to this unpleasant unveiling because it is now my duty to try to review her, in "National Velvet," in her first major role.

So far as I can see on an exceedingly cloudy day, I wouldn't say she is particularly gifted as an actress. She seems, rather, to turn things off and on, much as she is told, with perhaps a fair amount of natural grace and of a natural-born female's sleepwalking sort of guile, but without much, if any, of an artist's intuition, perception, or resource. She strikes me, however, if I may resort to conservative statement, as being rapturously beautiful. I think she also has a talent, of a sort, in the particular things she can turn on: which are most conspicuously a mock-pastoral kind of simplicity, and two or three speeds of semi-hysterical emotion, such as ecstasy,

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an odd sort of pre-specific erotic sentience, and the anguish of overstrained hope, imagination, and faith. Since these are precisely the things she needs for her role in "National Velvet"—which is a few-toned-scale semi-fairy story about a twelve-year-old girl in love with a horse—and since I think it is the most hopeful business of movies to find the perfect people rather than the perfect artists, I think that she and the picture are wonderful, and I hardly know or care whether she can act or not.

I am quite sure about Mickey Rooney: he is an extremely wise and moving actor, and if I am ever again tempted to speak disrespectfully of him, that will be in anger over the unforgivable waste of a forceful yet subtle talent, proved capable of self-discipline and of the hardest roles that could be thrown it. (I suggest it jealously, because I would so love to make the films rather than see them made; but if only a Studs Lonigan for the middle period could be found—the two I will mention might conceivably overlap it—and inter-studio entanglements could so be combed out that both Rooney and James Cagney—from whom Rooney has learned a lot—were available, they could find in Farrell's trilogy the best roles of their lives; and those novels, done as they should be, could become three major American movies.)

There are still other good things about "National Velvet": the performance of Anne Revere as the girl's mother and of Donald Crisp as her father (except for their tedious habit of addressing each other as "Mr. Brown" and "Mrs. Brown," and some conventional bits of business which I suspect were forced down Crisp's throat); the endearing appearance (I don't suppose one can really call it a performance) of Jackie Jenkins; and a number of gently pretty "touches," mainly domestic, which may have been Clarence Brown's, who directed, or may have been in the script, or for that matter in Enid Bagnold's novel. And there are few outright blunders, like the silly burlesquing of one adolescent love scene.

Yet in a sense—the sense of all the opportunities, or obligations, which were either neglected, with or without reason, or went unrealized—almost the whole picture is a blunder mitigated chiefly but insufficiently by the over-all charm of the story and affectionateness of the treatment, by Rooney's all but unimprovable performance (I wonder only about his very skilful but stylized use of his hands in his impressive drunk scene), and by a couple of dozen piercing moments—which may have transfixed me exclusively—from Miss Taylor.

The makers of the film had an all but ideal movie: a nominally very simple story, expressing itself abundantly in visual and active terms, which inclosed and might have illuminated almost endless recessions and interreverberations of emotion and meaning into religious and sexual psychology and into naturalistic legend. But of all these reins, all of which needed so light, hard, clear a hand, they seem to have been conscious only of the most obvious; and they have bungled even their management of those. Far from understanding and valuing their story for all it is worth, they don't even tell its surface half well enough.

To take just two samples of this: the sequence during which the horse is trained for his race gives you little more than generalized pretty-pictures instead of a précis of the pure technical detail which must have deeply excited, instructed, and intensified the girl, and so could and should have done the same for the audience. As for the race and the immediate preparations for it, they are only the more sadly flunked because, again in a secondary, generalized way, they manage to make you half forget the fact by being quite fairly exciting. If the audience could have experienced what the girl experienced, with anything like the same razorlike distinctness of detail and intensity of action and of spirit, they would have been practically annihilated. But they not only never have a chance to identify themselves with the girl or her horse; they hardly even get a good look at them, during the whole course of the race. The jockeys, moreover—and again their horses—are not only not characterized, and play none of their professional tricks on each other or the amateur; by some horribly misguided desire to enhance the contrast between their mature masculinity and the heroine's frightened nubility, they are selected to look less like jockeys than like guards on All-American. Such neglect amounts to a dereliction, not of art, if Hollywood fears and bridles at the word, but of the most elementary common sense, which amounts to the same thing. If a man wrote a piece of music so full of chowf-chowf, people would hardly bear to listen to it (unless it were given some such title as "The Four Freedoms," or perhaps "The Seven Against Thebes"). But that is not going to make a flop of "National Velvet." I expect to see it again myself, for that matter.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

Outstanding Releases in 1944

Bach: Fugue in E flat ("St. Anne") for organ; Bonnet; V 11-8528, $1. Sonata in E minor for violin and figured bass (Peters Series 3, Vol. VII, No. 2) (for the first movement); Busch and Balsam; C 71582-D, $1. Toccata and Fugue in E minor for clavier Serkin (poor performance); C 71594-D, $1.

Beethoven: Quartet Opus 132; Budapest Quartet (badly recorded); C Set 545, $5.50.

Bloch: "Nigun" from "Baal Shem" Suite; Elman; V 11-8575, $1.

Corelli: Sonata in F for strings and organ; Fiedler Sinfonietta and Biggs; V 10-1105, $.75.

Debussy: "Gigues" and "Rondes de printemps" ("Images" Nos. 1 and 3); Monteux and San Francisco Symphony; V Set 954, $2.50. "En blanc et noir" for two pianos (a lesser work); Bartlett and Robertson (imperfectly recorded); C Set X-241, $2.50.

Dvorak: Slavonic Dances Nos. 1 and 3; Golschmann and St. Louis Symphony; V 11-8566, $1.

Handel: Hallelujah Chorus and *Behold the Lamb of God* from "The Messiah"; Braithwaite and Sadler's Wells Chorus and Orchestra (reverberant recording); V 11-8670, $1.

Hadyn: Symphony No. 103 ("Drumroll"); Heward and Hallé Orchestra (not a good performance); C Set 547, $3.50.

Mozart: Piano Concerto K 414; Kentner with London Philharmonic under Beecham; C Set 544, $3.50. Quartet K. 428; Busch Quartet (poor performance, poorly recorded); C Set 529, $4.50. *Batti, batti* and *Vedrai, carino* from "Don Giovanni"; Sayao; C 71582-D, $1. *Se vuol ballare* from "The Marriage of Figaro" and *Bei Männern welche Liebe fühlen* from "The Magic Flute"; Pinza and Rethberg (poorly sung); V 10-1104, $75.

Schubert: "Der Doppelgänger" and "Die junge Nonne"; Lehmann; C 71509-D, $1. Piano Sonata Opus 120; Casadesus (poor performance); C Set X-236, $2.50.

Strauss: "Blue Danube" Waltz; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V 11-8580, $1.

Thomas: Overture to "Mignon"; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V 11-8545, $1.

Vivaldi: Violin Sonata in D; Morini; V 11-8671, $1.

Wagner: Part of Act 3 of "Tristan und Isolde"; Melchior, Janssen, Columbia Opera Orchestra under Leinsdorf, Teatro Colón Orchestra under Kinsky (not all of Melchior's singing is agreeable to the ear); C Set 550, $5.50.

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JAZZ: NEW PERFORMANCES

Wild Bill Davidson and Others: "That Da-Da Strain" and "Ugly Chile" (Commodore 546, $1). "That's a Plenty" and "Panama" (Commodore 1511, $1.50).

JAZZ: REISSUED PERFORMANCES

Duke Ellington: "Tiger Rag" (Decca 80048, $.75) and "Creole Rhapsody" (Decca 80047), in "Ellingtonia Volume 2" of Brunswick Collectors' Series (Set B-1011, $3.50).

And now Victor has issued a set (978; $3.50) which is another of the outstanding things of the year. Not, certainly, for the music—the Immolation Scene from Wagner's "Götterdämmerung," which is the grand climax of the entire series of the "Ring" music dramas, and the climax, therefore, also of the philosophical, dramatic, and musical bombast in them that many people find soul-shaking and some find laughable or unendurable. What makes the set outstanding is Toscanini's performance with the N. B. C. Symphony and Helen Traubel, which was recorded in Carnegie Hall after a concert three or four years ago, and is reproduced by the records in all its phenomenal beauty—the only defect being an occasional lack of cleanness in fortissimo, caused by overcutting. The recording engineers must be complimented and thanked for the balance that allows the orchestra to be heard clearly at all times behind Traubel's superb singing.

The "Götterdämmerung" music is on five sides of the set; and on the sixth is Toscanini's performance of the finale of "Tristan" with the orchestra alone. What about the Prelude?

CONTRIBUTORS

PATRICIA STRAUSS, wife of G. R. Strauss, a Labor member of Parliament, is the author of "Bevin and Co.: The Leaders of British Labor."

MICHAEL CLARK has recently returned from the Middle East, where he was *The Nation's* accredited correspondent.

CONSTANTINE POULOS, correspondent for the Overseas News Agency, has lived with the Greek guerrillas since last August. He entered Athens the day before the Germans left.

KAY BOYLE is a well-known novelist. Among her books are "Death of a Man" and "Armistice Diary."

LOUISE BOGAN'S books of verse include "Body of This Death" and "Sleeping Fury."

Letters to the Editors

COMPROMISE FOR PALESTINE

Dear Sirs: I am often asked for my views on the Palestine situation. The following is an attempt to express them briefly.

I have lived in Palestine for almost twenty-two years. I am the president of the Hebrew University, but what I am writing is not in the name of the university. The views expressed here are, however, shared by a number of men and women of standing, both in Palestine and elsewhere.

The problem is primarily how to give the Jews the chance of a larger immigration and at the same time take away from Arabs their fear of being swamped and dominated by large numbers of Jews.

My friends and I were glad to know that President Roosevelt said recently that both Jews and Arabs would be consulted before final decisions as to Palestine were taken. That, doubtless, will result in a compromise. The compromise we propose is as follows: political and numerical *parity* between the Jews and the Arabs in a bi-national Palestine which is to be part of a larger union consisting of four autonomous units—Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, the Lebanon.

We are convinced that both the Jewish and the Arab people can be won for this or a similar compromise. The leaders will be reluctant, and may want to rouse their people to revolt. But we are confident that they cannot succeed in this, because both peoples can, we think, be persuaded to acquiesce in such a compromise. If the attempt is made to convert Palestine into an Arab state or a Jewish state there will, we think, be war here.

As to Jewish immigration, which is the crux of the problem, our compromise—that is, the principle of parity—would provide that another 500,000 Jews, approximately, could be brought into Palestine. There are now over 500,000 Jews and over 1,000,000 Arabs here. The tempo of this immigration would be dependent upon the economic absorptive capacity of the country. The faster the Jews could help to increase this, the faster the immigration.

After this initial parity has been reached—one does not know at present how long this would take, the quicker the better—there would be a further steady, though limited, Jewish immigration in order to make up the difference between the Arab and the Jewish birth rate. The Arab birth rate is higher than the Jewish (2.7 per cent to 1.3 per cent).

If parity, thus attained, results, as we think it can, in peace and cooperation between Jews and Arabs, agreements as to immigration and settlement other than the purely arithmetical are thinkable. But this would depend, first, upon the proper achievement of parity, and then upon the cooperation and understanding attendant upon it.

As to Arab fears, we are convinced that they can be removed through the creation of the larger union of Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, and Lebanon. This would provide the wider background needed for giving a more generous answer to the Palestine problem than would be possible if the whole issue were restricted to the narrow confines of Palestine alone. In this union an Arab population of perhaps five million

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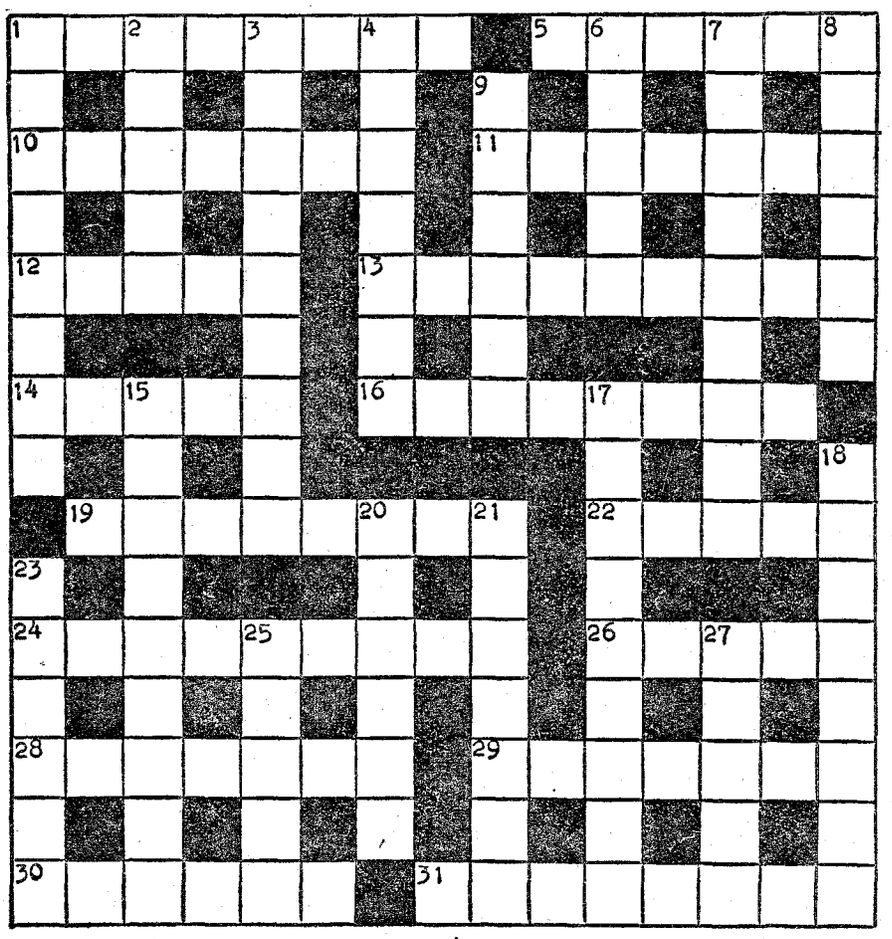
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 95

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Dye trouble in one of the states
5 They were indifferent to pleasure or pain
10 "Choice word and -------d phrase above the reach Of ordinary men" (Wordsworth)
11 Not lacking in affection, despite trouble attached to a symbol of it
12 That will do, Ted, for the time (hidden)
13 Animal, proverbially mad (two words, 5 and 4)
14 Sounds as though it might be good for the boat, but actually is the reverse
16 In Latin it often comes to absurdity
19 Purloin the summary
22 One of the movements of a sonata
24 There are two parts of a leg in this dish (two words, 5 and 4)
26 Proposal a Tory might follow in church
28 They revolted and burned Sardis in 500 B. C.
29 Instruction that might be expected to excite the musicians
30 Scene I (anag.)
31 Flayers

DOWN

1 The humorist seeks to attract Diana
2 Slate in its smallest form
3 Cannon balls, very warm after games of golf (two words, 5 and 4)
4 The red mare turns out to be a wool-gatherer
6 Wants a bit of stopping once it starts going
7 Not an original copy
8 Police inspector in a Hercule Poirot story who proved to be the murderer
9 This European capital does stand on a river, though you may not know it
15 Being knocked down by one is the height of something or other
17 Effect of exposure on an iron constitution
18 They learned nothing, and they forgot nothing.
20 Beheading this wakening word doesn't alter its meaning
21 It appears to be two birds!
23 The three parts of oratory
25 He is but a shadow of his former self
27 "The ----- that lit the battle's wreck Shone round him o'er the dead" (*Casabianca*)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 94

ACROSS:—1 POOH-BAH; 5 GARTERS; 9 IMPAIRS; 10 OYSTERS; 11 OMEGA; 12 ANNOYANCE; 14 ARTS; 15 PILOTED; 18 OOM; 20 YES; 21 BOUNCER; 23 SIZE; 26 INK BOTTLE; 28 BELLE; 29 IMAGINE; 30 CENTAUR; 31 GUESSES; 32 ROSEATE.

DOWN:—1 PRISON; 2 OSPREY; 3 BRIC-A-BRAC; 4 HUSSARS; 5 GROWN-UP; 6 RUSTY; 7 ETERNITY; 8 SUSPENDS; 13 MOO; 16 LAZYBONES; 17 EEL; 18 OBLIGING; 19 MUCKRAKE; 22 RUTGERS; 23 SPENCER; 24 ALPACA; 25 HEARSE; 27 OLIOS.

would be brought together. The Arabs of Palestine would not need then to fear, as they do now, domination by a larger Jewish immigration.

The Jews would be given the right to purchase land on the basis of parity; and what matters is that the settler, Jew or Arab, should be protected against being bought out by finance capital.

Politically there would be equal rights and duties for both peoples in the bi-national Palestine, somewhat on the Swiss model, with modifications appropriate to Palestine conditions. Several plans have been drafted for such an eventuality.

On condition that political peace could be established thus in Palestine itself, but only on this condition, it is likely that other countries of the larger union, more especially Transjordan, would want to have Jewish immigrants who could be of aid in the development of their sparsely populated lands. It should of course be clear that additional Jewish settlement outside Palestine would not be part of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. It is the Jewish National Home inside Palestine that was assured to the Jews by the League of Nations and the mandatory power, and not outside Palestine.

We assume that there is to be in the Middle East a regional body on which local governments as well as the United Nations are to be represented. This regional body would guarantee the political undertakings entered upon by the Jews and the Arabs, and this regional body would also aid in the economic and social development of the union of the four countries.

Both the Jewish National Home and a larger Arab union are historical necessities, no matter what the temporary setbacks either or both may suffer. The fate of each is bound up with that of the other; and perhaps Palestine may be spared the misery due to intransigent nationalistic rivalries if the whole issue is lifted to a wider political and economic plane.

The Holy Land of three religions is in deep need of a wise and peaceful answer to its problems.

J. L. MAGNES

Jerusalem, November 10

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